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ABSTRACT

An exploratory pilot study to determine the personal characteristics of women community leaders and their position in the power structure was conducted in Chippewa and Eau Claire Counties, Wisconsin. The research design involved a comparison of three samples: the traditional power structure identified through reputational techniques; the active women sample identified through a combination of reputational, positional, and decision-making techniques; and a next-door-neighbor comparison group of women. Preliminary analysis of the data collected indicated that certain women are known for their contributions to the community; that the existence of such groups of women is a long-standing phenomenon that has not previously been studied; and that the women have power in their own right, not as an adjunct to their husbands, although the women as a group may have less power than the most powerful men. (The active women may serve as a bridge between the influential men and the less powerful groups in the community.) The women are supportive of traditional roles--most are wives and mothers--and not too supportive of women's liberation, although most appeared to be more community oriented rather than focused entirely on home and family. Their education and socialization seemed to be supportive of community involvement. More in-depth analysis of the research results is recommended. (KC)

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ACTIVE WOMEN:

Perspectives On Their Structural Position In The Community

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INTRODUCTION

The changing role of women is currently the topic of some interest in both the formal sociological journals and the popular press. It is common knowledge that more women are entering the labor force and that both their educational level and life span are increasing. Furthermore, the lower birth rates and resulting shortened child rearing years along with increased technology in the homemaking areas have permitted women to reallocate demands on their time and energies.

Because of the above changes, the intellectual climate was conducive to a study which attempted to explore facets of women's structural position in relation to community decision-making. Historically, women have seldom been found in the community power structure studies. Yet the idea that women may be very influential lurks in such common expressions as, "behind every successful man is a woman," and "the hand that rocks the cradle, rocks the world." But it is known that real bias and discrimination exists in relation to women's achievements outside the home (Goldberg,[1] Featherman and Hauser[2]). Given the somewhat contradictory evidence concerning women's possible power and influence outside the home, there appeared to be a host of theoretically interesting questions to investigate. Do influential women exist on a communitywide basis? If their existence can be documented, where are they in relation to the predominantly male power structure? What are the bases of their influences? What are their political activities? What sort of developmental

patterns have they experienced which would have encouraged them to become active enough in the community to become influential? What are their ongoing educational needs? How do they view themselves?

This study was designed to examine facets of some of the above questions. Conducted in two Wisconsin counties, Chippewa and Eau Claire, the research was essentially exploratory and designed as a pilot study. The design involved a comparison of three samples: the traditional power structure identified through reputational techniques, the active women sample identified through a combination of reputational positional, and decision-making techniques, and a next-door-neighbor comparison group of women. Data were collected consecutively from the three groups over the shortest time period permitted by the constraints of the study.

The following booklet is the first publication of some of the preliminary analysis of the data. More in-depth analysis will be performed at a later date. Data on the women's political participation and their self-images were collected but have not yet been analyzed.

The summary of the findings and conclusions as well as the methodology are presented first to enable the reader to obtain quickly an overview of the work. To discuss the women we first present their demographic characteristics and then follow this with an analysis of some of their early experiences which may have been instrumental to their current levels of community participation. Facets of their current community participation and orientation are presented next. The last papers on the women's

educational characteristics and interests, and their attitudes towards selected issues represent a more detailed analysis of specific topics in relation to the women. The pictures accompanying the papers are the special contribution of a member of the active women project team. They perhaps reveal as much about some aspects of the subject matter of this monograph as do the papers.

H.M.

Harriett Moyer

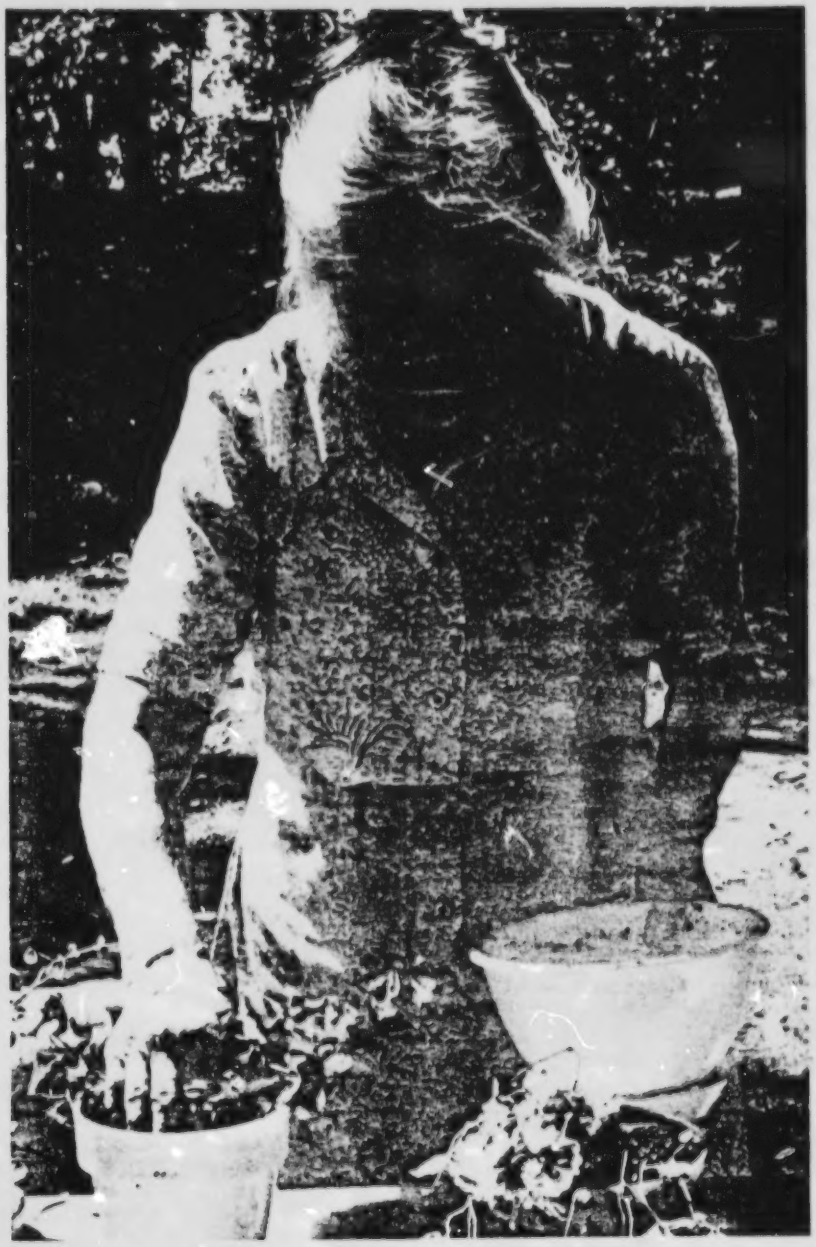
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

A summary of the findings and tentative conclusions compiled from the preliminary analysis of parts of the data collected under the auspices of the active women project is presented for the convenience of the reader.

The following findings and conclusions are presented in the order of the later sections of the booklet. Each of the sections give some explication and more details than the following summary, and were written by individual members of the project. Although some of the materials are presented within different theoretical frameworks and perspectives, the overriding thread which runs through all the analysis was essentially an attempt to determine whether the active women were maintaining or eschewing the more traditional roles of women.

Basic Demographic Statistics of Active Women Versus Comparison Neighbor Group

Prior research on community power structures (Aiken & Mott, 1970; Hunter, 1953) indicated that the influentials were a group who had high levels of education and income and were predominantly in professional or managerial occupational positions. Thus, it seemed reasonable to expect similar characteristics among the females who were known for their community activities and influence. Such proved to be the case as evidenced by the following data:



Variable	Active Women	Comparison Neighbor Group
Average Age	48.3 Yrs.	51.4 Yrs.
Percent Currently Married (Non-married includes widows, separated, and divorced)	76.7%	83.5%
Average Yrs. of Education	14.48 Yrs.	12.4 Yrs.
Average Family Income	$17,250.	$11,450.
Percent Employed Outside Home	73%	47%
Percent in Professional Occupations (Census Category)	36%	12%
Average No. of Children	2.56	2.92
Average Age of Youngest Child	16.4 Yrs.	19.08 Yrs.
Average No. of Yrs. in Community	26.3 Yrs.	30.2 Yrs.

At least a cursory examination of the above would appear to indicate that many of the women had resided in their current community for most of their adult years. Furthermore, the great majority of these women were presently married, or had been married in the past, and had children. Many were combiring the traditional roles of wife and mother with a professionai occupation outside the home.

Developmental and Reinforcement Patterns

The active women sample was by definition a group of females who were considered influential ar[illegible] were more involved in their communities

than the other women. Two theories might be utilized to help "explain" their participation in community: (1) they are deviants or mavericks who refuse to conform to more traditional roles or (2) they have been the recipients of enriched learning experiences and reinforcement patterns which enabled them to operate within a broader than usual framework of activities. The latter social learning framework was chosen to investigate possible factors in their early and current experiences which might have encouraged them in community activities somewhat outside the traditional role of women. Facets of their personal experience in decision-making and leadership roles were investigated as well as reinforcement patterns (encouragement) of significant others and some aspects of the role models presented by the parents. Findings included:

1. The active women were encouraged more by parents and husband to participate in politics and work outside the home than were the comparison women.

2. Approximately 25 percent of the comparison group was actively discouraged from the two areas of political activity and work outside the home. In contrast only 5 percent of the actives were discouraged from work and 3.3 percent from political activity.

3. The comparison group was encouraged more to participate in the traditional areas of home, church, and social clubs.

4. The comparison group received more than twice as much encouragement to participate in social clubs than the active women group.

5. The active women reported themselves as participating more in family decisions than did the comparison group.

6. The active women held more offices in both high school and college than the comparison group.

7. The active women reported that their opinions were sought more often than did the comparison group.

8. A higher percent of the active women's mothers worked outside the home than did the mothers of the comparison group.

The active women, in contrast to the comparison group, appear to have had more experiences with decision-making and leadership roles throughout their life history. They appear to have been reinforced more by their significant others such as parents, peers, and husbands to participate in the less traditional spheres. In addition, the active women were more often presented with the role model of a mother working outside the home. In contrast, the comparison group were encouraged more to participate in the traditional role encompassing home, church, and social clubs. The active women appear to have had an enriched and supportive set of experiences in relation to leadership and community activities for much of their life.

Women and Men in Community Life: A Comparative Analysis of Community Participation

What is the structural position of the active women in relation to the predominantly male community power structure? This was one of the major interests in the study. Indicators of their structural position were obtained through an analysis of their occupations and facets of their organizational participation and interaction networks. It was hypothesized that the active women had bases of power in their own

right and that they were functioning in both the "male" and "female" worlds by perhaps bridging across from the traditional world of women with its home, church, and social activities to the traditionally male world of business, finance, and politics.

Analysis of the occupations of the active women and the influential men revealed that the majority of both these groups had occupations which, in terms of census categories, were either professional and technical or managerial, official or proprietorships. Somewhat more of the women than the men held professional and technical occupations as the majority of the men were managers, officials and proprietors. This evidence that the majority of the active women were operating in quite high occupational levels was at least an indicator that the women might have power bases somewhat similar to the men, e.g., information, expertise, and positions which might give them some control over significant resources. Further, in only three cases out of the 60 were these women married to men who were part of the identified male power structure. Thus, the majority of them did not appear to be benefiting particularly from the possible power of their husbands.

Investigation of organizational participation and interaction networks revealed the following:

1. The women belonged to more organizations than the men.
2. The women did not belong to home-related organizations.
3. The men belonged to more business organizations.
4. There was no significant difference between the men and women in terms of their participation in political or professional groups.

5. The women belonged to more mixed groups than to all female groups.

6. The men belonged to more male groups than to mixed groups.

7. The interaction networks of the men and women in relation to community issues revealed the same pattern as in the organizational participation, e.g., the men were more apt to interact only with men while the women were interacting with mixed groups, some all female groups, and a few predominantly male groups.

The data appears to support the conclusion that the active women do have significant bases of power in their own right. The women apparently find it necessary to function in more mixed groups than do the men. This would seem to indicate that although they have some power in their own right they are not powerful enough to accomplish their community goals without involving the men. The men, on the other hand, do not need to involve the women to achieve their community goals.

Women and Men in Community Life: A Comparative Analysis of Community Orientation

Theoretically some differences might be expected in the type of community issues with which the men, in contrast to the women, would be most concerned. That is given the traditional role of women it might be reasonable to suppose they would be more involved than the men with health and welfare, education, and perhaps the environment. Further, it might be expected that the men would be especially interested in economic development, transportation, and politics. In reality there appears to be no significant difference between the men and the women on any of the major issues. This finding may be a function of the similar occupation levels

and consequently amount of information available to both groups.

Analysis of the two groups' attitudes towards community services revealed the same pattern as above. That is both groups had essentially the same attitudes towards all types of community services. With only minor differences, they agreed upon which services should be cut, kept the same, or expanded.

Educational Characteristics of Active Women and Comparison Neighbor Group

Education has long been investigated as a part of the status attainment literature (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell, 1957; and Jencks, 1972) and fairly recently work has been completed on the impact of education in relation to female achievement (Treiman and Terrell, 1975: Featherman and Hauser, 1975). The educational levels of the active women were checked to see if this group would show the patterns this research would indicate. As expected, the active women proved to be an "elite" group with relatively high levels of education.

The major facet of education investigated, however, was the current educational needs of the active women. These findings, it was hoped, would be especially useful in planning for continuing education and University-Extension programming. The topics in which these women reported the most interest included various aspects of government and politics and business and finance. Interest in the first category, for instance, centered on the structure of government itself with special emphasis on how to get a project implemented or an issue resolved through the political system. In the area of business and finance, attention was

directed primarily toward issues of personal and public finance. Items such as estate planning and investment were of concern. Also, these women were interested in obtaining a better understanding of the tax structure and how the various levels of government were spending their tax dollars.

Other major areas of interest were interpersonal skills and the social power structure. These women wanted a better understanding of how to become better leaders, how to win cooperation from others, and how the local power structure functioned.

In summary then, some of the major findings related to education were:

1. Active women had significantly more education than the comparison neighbor group.
2. The urban women in the active group had more education than the rural women in the active group.
3. There was no significant difference between education levels of parents for the active and comparison neighbor groups.
4. Eighty percent of the active women's parents were supportive of their daughter's obtaining at least a B.A.
5. Over 80% of the active women were in the top quartile of their high school class; some were valedictorians. In contrast only 40% of the comparison group were in the top quartile of their class.
6. Major topics of current educational interest to the active women were: government and politics, business and finance, and interpersonal skills.
7. Significantly more of the active women expressed a desire to continue their formal education than the comparison group.

The active women showed interest in matters outside the home, but they also seemed aware that a better understanding of financial matters and interpersonal skills would be useful in the home. In general, the group seems to have been "successful" academically. It also appeared their childhood environment was supportive of their education. Many of these women viewed their education as an ongoing process in their lives.

A Comparison of Attitudes Towards the Growth Versus Pollution Issues

Given the increasing importance of the growth versus pollution issues, a somewhat more detailed analysis of the opinions of the three major groups in the study plus a subsample of the male influentials was undertaken on selected environmental issues. Essentially it was hypothesized that the occupations of the groups would be one of the key factors in their stated attitudes toward environmental issues. The findings of this analysis were:

1. In general, influential males' and active females' attitudes towards growth and environmental policies are similar but women were somewhat less supportive of any governmental program with the exception of the promotion of industry.

2. Active women were less supportive of highway construction and parks than influential men.

3. The active women were more supportive of growth than were the comparison neighbor group.

4. Within the active women's group, those with higher income and education levels were more supportive of environmental programs than those with lower education and income levels.

5. Within the active women's group, those from the more urbanized areas were more supportive of environmental programs than those from the rural areas.

Occupational characteristics and relative income security appear to be the key factors determining support of environmental programs among the four groups analyzed. Even though all of the groups in this study had relatively high income levels, the usual trends still appeared within and between the groups.

Attitudes Toward the Women's Liberation Movement

With the growth of the women's movement, questions about the roles of women have received increasing attention. The active women, who are already involved in community affairs and in somewhat untraditional roles, may be in key positions to have impact on the women's liberation movement (WLM). Accordingly, the attitudes of the active women towards the WLM were compared with those of the neighbor group of women. In general, neither group was particularly supportive. Findings were as follows:

1. Less than half of both groups indicated support of the WLM.

2. No significant difference was found between the active women and the comparison women on support of the WLM.

3. No significant differences were found between the active and comparison groups on age, marital status, presence of children and number of children. These variables were not related to support of the WLM within the two groups.

4. The significant differences on family income, respondent's census category, high school class rank, and whether their mother worked outside the home were not related to support within the groups.

5. The active urban women were more supportive than the active rural women.

6. Within the active women group there was a significant difference in father's education and support of the WLM.

7. Within the active group the women who were not employed outside the home were significantly more supportive of the WLM than those who were employed outside the home.

8. Within both the active women's group and the comparison group those with college education were more supportive.

9. Across both groups, respondents who had some college education, whose mothers had some college education, and who were living in a more urban area were more likely to be supportive of the WLM.

A higher education was strongly associated with support of the women's movement for the respondents regardless of activity. So was urban residential status--but to a lesser degree. A non-employed status and higher parental education levels were also associated with support of the women's movement, but in some interaction with activity.

Adjustment to Feminine Roles

The joint effect on the women of convergence or dissonance in role socialization and actual role behavior was analyzed. The effect was measured by stated level of happiness and the avowed importance of the role of housewife. Contrasting patterns of role socialization were used. They were termed "housewife" orientation and "housewife-plus" orientation. The behavior dealt with was remunerated work and level of activity in the community as contrasted with their absence.

The idea that women will experience ongoing role conflict and therefore be less happy if they accept paid employment or become active outside the home is generally assumed to be true. The results do not

support this. These data suggest that women who are in dissonant positions in relation to their home and community make adjustments to attain approximately the same levels of happiness as those in consonant positions. The women were, however, slightly happier if they were in consonant positions in relation to their socialization and their behavior.

The employed active women who were socialized to the housewife-plus role were the happiest of the groups investigated. This would imply that women may have less trouble adjusting to roles and achievement outside the home than is commonly accepted.

In sum, the data indicated that women were slightly happier if they were in consonant positions in relation to their socialization and their behavior. They also rated the role of the housewife in accordance with whether they were devoting full time to this role. Those devoting full time to the role were more supportive than those performing in housewife-plus roles.

Overall Conclusions

What conclusions may we draw from the data analyzed thus far? First, it is clear that women exist in each of the municipalities studied who are known across their communities for their contributions to the community. They are acknowledged to be the female leaders in one and frequently several spheres of activity in the community. In view of these women's level of support of the Women's Liberation Movement and their statements concerning the traditional role of housewife, it would appear that the existence of this group of women is not an

outgrowth of the feminist movement. Rather, it appears more reasonable to assume that this group of women are a long standing phenomena in community structure which simply has not been studied in any depth.

Do they have power? It is clear that the active women in this study possess some of the attributes of leaders identified in classic community studies. They are found in the socioeconomic stratum which is the usual recruiting ground of such leaders. Basically, of upper or middle class status income and occupation, they also possess a substantial amount of education. They are generally interested in and informed about community life. Given that in only three cases were the husbands of these women identified through the reputational technique as being members of the power structure, it would appear that the "power" of the active women is not an offshoot of their husbands' power and influence. Their "power" appears to stem from their own occupations, education, and activities in the community. The analysis of the organizational participation and informal communications networks of these women would seem to indicate that this group of women are in a weaker decision-making position than the influential men in the community. Nevertheless, they are in contact with these men and it does not appear unreasonable to conclude that the active women, at least on some issues, are serving as a bridge between the influential men and less powerful groups in the community.

How closely do the active women fit the traditional roles of women? It would appear that these women are community oriented rather than being centered almost exclusively on the family. The analysis of these women's experiences and the encouragement they received from significant

others would seem to indicate that parts of their socialization included enrichment which reinforced them in their community as opposed to home and family activities. However, they do not eschew the traditional roles of wife and mother as the great majority of these women are not only assuming these roles but also meeting the demands of relatively high level occupations. Attitudes expressed by these women concerning the Women's Liberation Movement and the role of the housewife seem to indicate their quite strong support of the traditional roles. Their behavior as measured by their community activities and their occupational levels would seem to indicate support of less traditional roles. In sum, based upon their academic rank and their reputation for achievement in their occupations and their community, it would appear that these women are a group capable of simultaneously carrying out both the traditional and less traditional roles in a manner that is acceptable to both their families and their communities.

Nancy Anderson

METHODOLOGY

The Selection of the Active Women

Although women have not usually been identified in studies of community power, it seems reasonable to assume that some women do have an impact on community decision-making. To attempt to locate these women, standard sociological methods of identifying community influentials were modified. Only the names of women were solicited. Consequently, the women in our sample have been identified as "active" women rather than influential women or women who have power. Even though we might presume the women selected possess more influence or power than those not identified, the low levels of the power structure at which women have appeared in the past do not support the broad use of these terms in relation to women. Since the methods of identification employed lend themselves directly to measurements of activity,[3] our sample will, from this point on, be referred to as "active women."

As this project was part of a larger research and development project including four other projects which were to be conducted in the rural demonstration area in the northwestern district of Wisconsin, the site was partially preselected. From the eleven counties in this area (Polk, Dunn, St. Croix, Pierce, Barron, Pepin, Rusk, Chippewa, Eau Claire, Taylor, and Clark counties), Eau Claire and Chippewa county were chosen to be studied. These counties offer a cross-section of poorer, rural areas plus the urbanizing influence of larger towns such as Chippewa Falls and Eau Claire. The town of Eau Claire, for instance, was designated as

a growth center by the governor in 1972.[4] All incorporated towns in these counties with a population over 500 were included in the study: Chippewa Falls, Cornell, Stanley, Bloomer, Boyd and Cadott in Chippewa county, and Eau Claire, Altoona, Augusta, Fall Creek and Fairchild in Eau Claire county. (See Table 1.)

There are four major methods that have been used to identify those who have influence or power: the reputational method, the positional method, the decision-making method, and self-identification.[5] All four of these methods have been used in this study in various forms, although only three were used in the selection process. The reputational method is based upon a person's "reputation" of being influential or having information. The positional method involves looking at who holds authorized positions as an indication of power, while the decision-making method entails following through specific issues or decisions to establish which persons had the most impact on the outcome of those decisions. Self-identification involves asking individuals directly what their role is in the community and the decision-making process.

Each of these methods has its own weaknesses. The reputational method, for example, is dependent upon whom you ask. If those you interview are not particularly well-informed on community matters, regardless of their qualifications, the information you receive will not be meaningful. The positional method, on the other hand, can pose a problem if power is not situated in the position itself, that is, if the position is symbolic or the real power is behind the scenes. Difficulties with the decision-making method are determining when decision-making on an issue

began, and deciding which decisions and how many decisions one needs to observe to establish influence. Another problem is that the decision-making process is not always overt. Also, the practical aspects of this method are prohibitive. The mechanics of being on location and waiting out a decision are more costly than most research projects can afford. Finally, self-identification is beset with all the problems of self-perception.[6]

Although the reputational and positional methods were the most commonly used in the past, the trend, according to a thesis recently written on the subject,[7] has been to combine techniques. Charles Bonjean and David Olson in their article "Community Leadership: Directions of Research" suggest that a combination of methods is probably the best approach presently available.[8] In response to the weaknesses of the different methodologies, and the criticism leveled against their separate usage, the sample of active women in the study was selected by the use of the reputational, positional, and decision-making methods. Because of its greater weakness as a method of selection, self-identification was used only to determine the rate or level of activity of those women already selected. All of the standard sociological methods of identifying community influentials were, therefore, employed in some form.

As the women identified by the use of these methods will be referred to as "active" rather than influential, it must be pointed out that activity was measured in several ways within the contexts of these methods. The reputational method was used to find out which women were known for

their "activity" in various sectors of the community as well as which women were known for their influence. The positions these women held, and their participation in the decision-making process, as discovered by the positional and decision-making methods, are indexes of activity in and of themselves. Also, the method of self-identification used with the active women selected asked about their participation in clubs, organizations, and elected or appointed government positions.

The Reputational Method. By the reputational method, two groups of people considered to be well-informed on community affairs, community knowledgeables and influentials, were interviewed and asked to nominate women who were active in their communities. A "knowledgeable" is a person who is involved in his community and has access to information on what is going on through a legitimate position. This may be, for instance, the city clerk, a University-Extension agent, the postmaster, or the pastor or priest of a large congregation. An "influential," on the other hand, is someone who is involved or has power in the decision-making process because of wealth, position, control he has over important resources, or some combination of these. Influentials in this study included mayors, realtors, bank presidents, editors of town newspapers, school superintendents, and so on. These two populations are selected from as wide a range of community life as possible, with knowledgeables selected only on the basis of their positions and influentials nominated by members of the community.

An unpublished study conducted in this area in the fall of 1972

(Johnson and McCoy),[9] the Growth Centers Project, identified knowledgeables and influentials in towns in Chippewa and Eau Claire counties with a population over a thousand. The list of knowledgeables compiled and the influentials identified by this study were those used to nominate the active women. In the smaller towns not covered by the Growth Centers Project (Boyd, Cadott, Fairchild, and Fall Creek), the instruments and procedures of the Johnson and McCoy study were used by our project members to identify these populations. The only modification made in the general methodology of this study was the addition of women knowledgeables in positions such as the president of the League of Women Voters or the Federated Women's Club or chairman of the Red Cross to the list of knowledgeables. This was done to compensate for the lack of representation of women's organizations among the standard positions used to select knowledgeables. In every town where knowledgeables and influentials were interviewed, an attempt was made to always interview those holding six key positions:[10] the mayor or village president, a banker, the newspaper editor, the owner or manager of a leading business establishment in the town, the city clerk, and a county extension agent. When not available, they were replaced by other knowledgeables and influentials on the list. The total number of knowledgeables and influentials interviewed to nominate active women was determined by the use of a formula based on population size also drawn from the Growth Centers Project. (See Table 2.)

In the summer of 1974 two questionnaires were developed by the six members of the research project. One was to be administered to the knowledgeables and influentials, and the other to the active women.

These questionnaires were pretested in August of 1974 in LaCrosse, Wisconsin--a town outside the two county area but similar in size and economic composition to the larger towns in the study. Here 11 influentials, 19 knowledgeables, and 12 active women were interviewed. Initial contact with each of these groups was made by a letter briefly describing the research project and asking for their participation. Interview dates were confirmed by telephone. Both instruments were revised after this pretest.

The final questionnaire used with the knowledgeables and influentials took approximately one hour to administer orally and covered a number of subject areas. The first section asked which women were "active and involved" in the following sectors of community life: business, education, finance, health and the social services, politics, religion, social/voluntary organizations, and the professions. The names of women in the community who were influential "behind the scenes," because of wealth, or influential "in general" in affecting public opinion were also requested. Another section of the questionnaire inquired about public issues that had been of concern to the interviewee at the local, regional, state, and national levels and asked what women had been involved in these issues at the different levels. Finally, questions were included to outline the social network of the knowledgeables and influentials and to verify their status in the power structure of their communities. With the exception of involvement in the decision-making process (See the Decision-Making Method), a woman was given a point each time her name was mentioned in response to these categories. In September and October

of 1974 a total of 56 knowledgeables and 50 influentials were interviewed in Eau Claire and Chippewa counties. One hundred and six informants in all were interviewed in the two counties to nominate the active women. Fifteen of these informants were women, 14 knowledgeables chosen because of their positions in the larger women's organizations in their towns, and one an influential identified in the Johnson and McCoy (1972) study. Seven of these fifteen women were later interviewed as active women.

The Decision-Making Method. As mentioned earlier, knowledgeables and influentials were asked to identify women who had been involved in specific issues. This was included on the questionnaire used to assess the "reputation" of the women in the various communities and was therefore not an independent use of the decision-making approach. The same knowledgeables and influentials were asked what issues had been of concern to them at the local, regional, state and national levels in the past five years. They were then asked if they could recall any women who had been actively involved in the issues they specified. In this way the participation of women in the decision-making process could be traced in the two counties. Since the decision-making method of identification was not used independently of the reputational method, nominations received through this question were given only half a point.

The Positional Method. While the influentials and knowledgeables were being interviewed, a project member living in the area independently developed a list of positions held by women in the two counties. She

located women holding responsible positions in business and industry, finance, politics (elected and appointed offices), education, health and the social services, religion, voluntary organizations, and the professions. In this process, all daily or weekly newspapers in eleven towns were subscribed to and items concerning women and their participation clipped. University-Extension county offices and the Chamber of Commerce offices were visited for the resources they had available and all existing directories and listings (i.e., The Eau Claire Clubs and Organizations Directory 1974) were consulted. In the smaller communities where directories are not published, the telephone book itself was used. Contact was also made with at least one knowledgeable person in each community to serve as a resource person. These people, not to be confused with the community knowledgeables mentioned earlier, were recommended by the University of Wisconsin-Extension county offices.

To rate the positions obtained for their relative prestige, another list of occupations which included a cross-section of positions from all census categories was developed. The positions on this list were typed on separate cards and given to a panel of six people familiar with community structure to rate on a scale from one to five. This "panel of experts" included a minister, a sociology professor, two men working in community resource development, an attorney, and a county board chairman outside the area being studied. A mean score calculated from the ratings of the panel of experts was assigned to the various positions. Each woman holding a position identified on the positional list was then given the average weighted score assigned that position by the panel.

A total positional score was obtained by adding together the weights assigned each position a woman held.

Self-Identification. Because self-identification relies solely on an individual's self-perception, it is the least reliable method of identifying community influentials. For this reason, this method was not used in the selection of the active women itself, but rather to determine the rate or level of activity of the women already selected by the other three methods. During the interview sessions with these women, they were asked what clubs, groups, and organizations they belonged to; whether they held any offices in these; and how active they were in each. They were also asked what appointed or elective offices they had either held or run for.

A final score for rating overall "activity" in the selection process was calculated for each woman by adding the points she had received by the reputational, positional, and decision-making methods. Nominations from knowledgeables and influentials through the reputational method were given a weight of one point by the rationale that the spheres of influence of knowledgeables and influentials are equally important. Nominations received through the decision-making method, as mentioned before, received a weight of .5 since this method was not employed independently. As no research exists, for instance, as to whether or not reputational scores should be considered higher than positional scores, a decision was arbitrarily made that scores received by these three methods have an additive effect. Therefore, each woman's score was developed from a tabulation of her nominations by the reputational and decision-making methods combined

with her weighted positional score.

To remain within the financial capacity of the study, women in each community whose final score fell in the top five percent were those chosen to constitute the sample of active women. This cutoff point, however, was not exact since the figure obtained taking five percent of the women nominated in any given community was rarely an even number. Numbers with fractions were rounded off to the next highest figure. For instance, if the figure obtained were 2.3, three women would be selected. In this way, slightly more than five percent of the women nominated were interviewed. By this method, a total of 60 women resulted out of a pool of 1,021 women. The basic assumption of this methodology is that the combined usage of the reputational, positional, and decision-making methods succeeded in selecting the most active women in the communities sampled.

Once selected as part of the initial pool of "actives," these women were contacted by telephone and asked if they would be willing to participate in the study. They were informed that the purpose of the study was to gather data on women's participation in community and business affairs and that their opinions would be sought to help develop continuing education programs for women. So both the novelty of being interviewed plus the desire to perform a community service were possible incentives for participation in the study. Letters were then sent to confirm the interviews and the locations where they would be held. Out of the initial 60 women selected, six did not participate. One woman could not participate due to ill health; another woman's husband was seriously ill, and there were four refusals.

These women were substituted with women in the same communities who had the next highest scores. Six of the women finally selected had been interviewed as knowledgeables and one as an influential.

The Instrument. In the months of October and November, five members of the research project interviewed the 60 women in the active sample either in their homes or at a convenient meeting place such as a hotel conference room or an empty room at the local library. All the interviews in any one town were scheduled within a two-day time period to reduce the possibility that the results would be biased by communication among the interviewees.

The questionnaire developed for the interview, although it contains some cross-checks for inter-question reliability, relies mainly on self-report. Hopefully, the incentives mentioned for participation also served to increase the validity of responses obtained by this method, nevertheless, the study is subject to the standard criticisms of self-report. However, as there is virtually no research on this population of women, this study is largely exploratory in nature, and as such, it was felt that the advantages of gathering a larger body of information outweighed the advantages of having considerably fewer questions, all of which were cross-checked.

Before the administration of the questionnaire, a session was held for the five interviewers to review the intent of the questions and for final instructions on interviewing techniques. As the interviewers had formulated the questionnaire, understanding of the questions was uniform. The questionnaire itself contained the exact sequence and wording of all

questions, plus instructions on probing. Interviewers were instructed to follow the questionnaire exactly. Practice using the instrument was obtained during the pretest. The questionnaire in its final form took approximately two hours to complete and was administered orally with the interviewer recording answers. The majority of the questions were closed ended, although approximately ten percent were left open.

The major areas covered by the questionnaire were community participation, developmental or background information, current educational interests and needs, attitudes and values, and social and demographic characteristics. Community participation questions included an examination of the participation of these women, political or otherwise, in clubs, organizations, offices, and community issues. The developmental questions looked at factors such as family background, the respondent's educational and occupational history, and early participation in organized activities and decision-making. The questions on continuing education inquired about their present interests, the types of information they felt women in general need, and what information they personally needed to be more effective in the community. The section on attitudes and values asked about significant others, personal goals and values, self-perceived personal qualities, and attitudes toward the social position of women and the women's movement.

The Selection of the Comparison Women

The Next-Door-Neighbor Technique. In order to locate a sample of women not distinguished by their activity for a comparison base, a

technique using next-door-neighbors was devised in collaboration with Wisconsin Survey Research Lab and consultants from the university statistics department. This "next-door-neighbor technique" was chosen primarily as a means of attempting to match the two samples of women on the basis of socioeconomic status. As those with similar income levels tend to settle in the same neighborhoods, and income is highly correlated with educational level, it was hoped this technique would control for these dimensions. The alternative to matching on status was to compare the active women to a random sample. This method was rejected in favor of matching because of the advantages matching would offer in data interpretation.

By the use of the next-door-neighbor technique then, the family names of women residing on both sides of the "active" women were found through Plat maps at the County Register of Deeds offices. The names obtained were checked against the names of those women who received the top ten percent of the nominations for activity. As there was no overlap, the neighbor women were identified as a "less active" group of women by definition of the study with a five percent margin of safety.

A total of 119 households, rather than 120, were identified as one household was on the right-hand side of one active woman and on the left-hand side of another. Subsequently, telephone calls similar to those made to the active women were completed asking for the participation of the female head of the household or the oldest female in the family 18 years of age or older. An interview schedule was thus established and confirming letters sent before the formal telephone interview.

Twenty-eight of the households contacted did not take part in the study. There were 13 refusals, 9 women who were unable to participate for various reasons, and 6 households that did not have eligible participants. Ninety-one women, or 76 percent of those identified agreed to participate, a rate of participation that is considered good in survey research.[11]

The Instrument. The neighbor women were interviewed by telephone by a Wisconsin Survey Research Lab employee. Telephone interviews were used rather than personal interviews because they cost substantially less. This type of interview was also selected over a mailed questionnaire because it has a better response rate and it is closer in form to the personal interview that was used with the active women. Efforts were made to conduct the telephone survey as soon as possible after the interviews with the active women to avoid changes in social conditions that might alter responses. The telephone interviews themselves were based on an abridged version of the questionnaire administered to the active women (See Appendix E) and took approximately 20 minutes to complete. One trained interviewer conducted all of the interviews and recorded the responses directly on the questionnaire. Only five percent of the questions on this questionnaire were open-ended.

Coding

When interviewing was completed, the answers to open-ended questions on the various questionnaires were typed separately on cards. Tentative categories were developed by the project members by placing cards in subject piles agreed upon by the group. Four outside judges (a social)

psychologist, one educational administrator, and two continuing education graduate students) were asked to code the answers to the questions according to the categories developed. If three or more of these raters agreed on an item's placement, it was tabulated as "agree." The number of "agrees" obtained for each category was then divided by the average number of items placed in each category, thus giving an agreement ratio. Finally, the ratio for each category was weighted by the mean number of items placed in that category, was summed, and divided by the total number of categories for an overall "agreement index." An agreement index of .7 or better was sought for each question. If intercoder reliability was too low, the categories were revised and retested. Two graduate assistants then coded the responses. To further increase reliability, the same questions for all respondents were coded by one coder.

Among the interviews obtained from the active and neighbor women, two of the interviews from the active women and three from the neighbor women were incomplete. Either conflicting appointments or responsibilities did not allow these respondents sufficient time to finish the questionnaire.

TABLE 1

COMMUNITIES AND POPULATIONS IN THE STUDY*

County	Town or City		1970 Population
Chippewa	Bloomer		3,143
	Boyd		574
	Cadott		977
	Chippewa Falls		12,351
	Cornell		1,616
	Stanley		2,049
		Total:	20,710
Eau Claire	Altoona		2,842
	Augusta		1,242
	Eau Claire		43,662
	Fairchild		562
	Fall Creek		825
		Total:	49,133
LaCrosse	LaCrosse		51,153
		Total:	51,153

*U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 51, Wisconsin. U.S. Government Printing Office

TABLE 2

FORMULA FOR KNOWLEDGEABLES AND INFLUENTIALS
TO BE INTERVIEWED IN EACH COMMUNITY*

Population	Influentials and Knowledgeables
2,499 or smaller	5
2,500 - 4,999	7
5,000 - 9,999	10
10,000 - 19,999	15
20,000 - 39,999	20
40,000 or more	25
Total:	82

*Growth Centers Project. Unpublished study by Donald Johnson and Palmer McCoy, Title I Higher Education Act of 1967 and Title V Rural Development Act of 1972.

Harriett Moyer

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS COMPARING ACTIVE WOMEN TO THE NEXT-DOOR-NEIGHBOR COMPARISON GROUP

Once the data were collected, initial analysis was undertaken to compare the two groups of women, the actives and their next-door-neighbors, on some of the basic demographic variables.

Comparisons were made on such factors as age, number of years in the community, educational level, family income, occupations of various family members, and various other variables in the family situation such as marital status, number of children, age of youngest child, size of family of origin, birth order, and stability of parents' marriage.

Average age of the active women was 48.3 with a range from 20 to 81 years old. In comparison, the next-door-neighbors averaged 51.4 years with a range from 19 to 81 years. A t-test indicated no significant difference between the two groups. On the average, members of each of the two groups had spent the majority of their lives in the community in which they were currently residing. The active women averaged 26.3 years in their current community while the neighbors had resided 30.2 years on the average in their communities. Members of both groups, in other words, were not usually newcomers to their communities. Again, however, the ranges were large for both groups. In the case of the neighbors, the range went from 1 to 78 years while the active women's range on this variable was from 3 to 74 years.

Educational level for the active women was higher than that of the

comparison neighbors' group. The actives averaged 14.48 years while the comparison group averaged 12.4 years. Range for the comparison group was from 7 to 18 years while the actives' range was from 10 to 20 years. (One active woman was an M.D.) The same pattern repeated in the educational levels of both the mothers and fathers of these two groups of women. That is both the mothers and fathers of the active women achieved a slightly higher level of education than did the parents of the neighbor women. The parents of both sets of women however, on the average, did not obtain high school diplomas which, of course, was not unusual for that generation. The fathers of both sets of women on the average, achieved slightly more education than did the mothers.

Family incomes of the active women were higher than those of the comparison group of women. The family income of the active women averaged approximately $17,250 a year while those of the comparison group averaged approximately $11,450. Both groups were above the state average of $11,135.[12] Some families in each of the groups had incomes of over $40,000.

The majority of the active women were employed outside the home--73 percent in contrast to 47 percent of the comparison group. Types of employment also differed between the two groups. Largest percent of the active women, 36, were in the professional, technical and kindred workers census category with the next largest percent of these women, 26, in the managers, officials and proprietors census category. In contrast, the largest percent of the working women in the comparison group, 17, were found in the clerical and kindred workers category. Twelve

percent of this comparison group were in the professional group and 6 percent in the managers, officials and proprietors group.

In only three cases out of the sample were the active women wives of the influential, predominantly male power structure. The active women's occupations were apparently earning them prestige in their own right and they were not merely reflecting the eminence of the husbands.

Among the active women there were four vice presidents of local banks and one physician. Several held various administrative and supervisory positions in the public schools. A number of others held public offices which included county treasurer, city clerk-treasurer, register of deeds, and village clerk. Another group of the active women either owned and operated their own businesses or were operating partners in a business with their husbands. The health services field occupied several of these women. Their positions included administrator of a nursing home, director of a center for developmental disabilities, and specialized nursing such as one dealing with hemodialysis. One was a postmaster, another was an ordained minister, and still another was the public relations director of one of the state university campuses. Substantial wealth was also represented in this group of women. Some of these women were occupied by the management of their investments plus their civic activities.

As might be expected from the occupations of the active women themselves, the occupations of their husbands were also in the categories which have high prestige and generally require high levels of education. The majority of the husbands, 73 percent, were either in the professional,

technical and kindred workers category or were managers, officials and proprietors. Forty percent were professionals while 33 percent were managers. Only 3 percent were in the craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers category. In contrast, the husbands of the comparison group of neighbors were spread fairly evenly across three census categories. Close to 20 percent of these husbands were craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers while there were 23 percent in each of the managerial and professional categories.

Farming occupied the largest percent of the fathers of both the active and comparison groups of women. Thirty-one percent of the fathers of the active women were farmers and 38 percent of the fathers of the comparison group. Once more, the usual patterns held for this generation also in that more of the fathers of the active women were managers and professionals than were the fathers of the comparison group. Fifteen percent of the fathers of the actives were professionals and 21 percent were managers. In contrast, only 5 percent of the comparison group were professionals and 15 percent were managers.

More of the mothers of the active group worked outside the home than did the mothers of the comparison group. The percentages were 65 and 42 percent respectively. In both groups of working mothers the predominant occupations were in the service workers category. But close to 12 percent of the mothers of the active women were professionals in their own right. Most of these women were in the teaching profession. In contrast, 4 percent of the mothers of the comparison group were in the professional census category.

Contrasting patterns were also evidenced between the two groups of women on various family situation variables. Although the large majority of both groups of women were married, fewer of the active group were married than the comparison group. Among the actives, 76.7 were married, 5 percent were widows, 5 percent were divorced or separated and 11.7 percent were never married. Among the comparison group, 83.5 percent were married, 12.1 percent were widowed, and 3.3 were separated or divorced. There were none who had never married. (These figures do not quite reach 100 percent due to rounding.)

The active woman had somewhat fewer children than did the comparison group woman--2.56 in contrast to 2.92. The youngest child of the active woman averaged 16.4 years of age while that of the comparison group woman averaged 19.08 years.

Differences between the families of origin of the two groups emerged also. There were 2.83 children in the average sized family of origin for the active women while the comparison figure for the other group was 3.94. More of the active women were either the oldest child or the eldest daughter in their family of origin. Of the actives, 48.3 percent were the oldest child while only 27 percent of the comparison group were the oldest child in their families. Actives were the eldest daughter in 48.3 percent of the cases while 31 percent were the eldest daughter in the comparison cases.

There were somewhat fewer separations and divorces among the parents of the active women. Thirteen percent of the comparison group's parents were separated or divorced while 8.3 percent of the active women's

parents were separated or divorced.

In summary, more of the active women worked outside the home than did the comparison group. Both they and their husbands were better educated and held more prestigious occupational positions than did the comparison group. Consequently, their family incomes were also higher. Although the majority of both groups were married, close to 12 percent of the actives never married. The active women had somewhat fewer children than did the comparison group and also came from somewhat smaller families originally. More of the mothers of the active women worked outside the home and the parents of the active women attained both higher educational and occupational levels on the average than did those of the comparison group. There were fewer divorces and separations among the parents of the active women. Birth order information indicated that more of the active women were either the oldest child or the eldest daughter in their families of origin than were the women in the comparison group.

SELF-SERVE

Harriett Moyer

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ACTIVE WOMEN'S COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION WITHIN A SOCIAL LEARNING THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of the following analysis was to attempt to "explain" the phenomena of female community leaders, the active women, within a social learning-theory framework as represented by the work of Bandura[13] and Mischel.[14] The analysis was organized around three general facets of these women's life histories in relation to decision-making and assuming leadership roles: (1) rewards (encouragement) for participation in community and leadership activities, (2) experiences in decision-making, and (3) possible modeling influences of the parents.

Definition of Terms

For purposes of this analysis, community as conceived as an arena of activity and interactions between people. The activities are involved with solving the needs and problems of the local social structure. The local social structure is essentially defined on a geographic basis. Leadership is defined as the influence exerted in group and coalition formations and maintenance, and the attainment of the community's goals. Influence is defined as an overt attempt to change the course of action or behavior of individuals to help assure the desired goals.

Theoretical Background for Choice of Variables

Social learning theory as represented by the work of Bandura and Mischel is squarely in the behavorist school of thought. However, the

strict behavorist construct has been modified by the insertion of the concept of cognitions which mediate between the stimulus-response. Thus, the individual is conceived as active and capable of changing his environment. He can, in other words, "adjust" his behavior through his own cognitions of his environment and various stimuli which he encounters.

Although reinforcement acts to strengthen response patterns, it also serves informative and incentive functions. People observe the feedback they obtain from their actions and, if the feedback is favorable and the outcomes beneficial, the cognitive events are strengthened. Thus, they learn by experience, in what actions they should persist in order to continue to receive favorable feedback and beneficial outcomes from others who are important to them, the significant others. Data are therefore presented which indicate who the significant others are in the lives of these female leaders, what type of activities were encouraged by these significant others, and whether these people were supportive of the female leaders' involvement in community projects. Given also that leadership is frequently defined in terms of office-holding and decision-making, it is logical to assume that the female leaders under investigation might have had a history of years of decision-making and office-holding experiences for which they received reinforcement and positive feedback. Data are consequently presented on both office-holding and decision-making experiences of the female leaders.

Learning can also occur "through observation of modeled behavior and accompanying cognitive activities without extrinsic reinforcement,"[15]

according to Bandura. Further, models who have "high status, prestige, and power are much more effective in evoking matching behavior in observers than models of low standing."[16] Since parents usually have high power and status in the eyes of the child, data are presented on the parents' activities in the community. Such activities, as well as having the mother work outside the home, may be important aspects to the modeling influence which the parents may have had in relation to the community activities subsequently performed by the female leaders.

Specific Problem and Its Elements

The specific problem dealt with in this analysis was the determination of whether these female leaders, the active women, as suggested by social learning theory, had a stronger personal history of experiences and reinforcement in decision-making, leadership roles, and parental involvement in community activities than the comparison sample of next-door-neighbor women who were less active in their communities.

Facets of the problem included:

1. Encouragement and reinforcement given for participation in activities outside the home.
2. Participation in decision-making in and outside the home.
3. Role models of mother and father in relation to community activities.

Hypotheses

The following specific hypotheses were investigated:

1. Active women will have received more encouragement and reinforcement from significant others for their activities in the community than the next-door-neighbor comparison group.

2. Active women will have participated more in decision-making and leadership roles from childhood to adulthood than the comparison group.

3. Mothers and fathers of the active women will be more active in community affairs than the parents of the comparison group.

Analysis of Data

In view of the importance of reinforcement to the social learning theory it seemed logical to begin with an analysis of the encouragement, a form of reinforcement, given these active female leaders in regards to their participation in community projects and various other spheres of activity.

First an attempt was made to determine who the most significant others were in relation to both the female leaders and the comparison group of women. The husband was cited as being the most significant other by 43.9 percent of the women in the comparison group while 30 percent of the active women felt the husband to be their most significant other. Mother was rated as being the most significant other by 18.33 percent of the leaders and 14.29 percent of the comparison group. Father received the most significant rating by 15 percent of the leadership group and 7.69 percent of the comparison group. A female relative was considered to be the most significant other in 7.69 percent of the comparison group cases while only 1.67 percent of the leaders cited the same category. Self was rated as most significant by 6.67 percent of the leaders and 3.3 percent of the comparison group.

In other words, the husband was mentioned most often by both groups

but proportionately fewer of the leaders than the comparison women cited this person as being the most significant. See Table 3. The father and the self received approximately twice as many "votes" by the leaders in comparison to the less active group of women.

Respondents were asked if their most significant other was encouraging, neutral, or discouraging in the following spheres of activity: home, church, work, social clubs, and political. A higher percent of the comparison group of women were encouraged to participate in home, church, and social clubs than were the female leaders. More of the leaders were encouraged in the work and political spheres while approximately 25 percent of the comparison group were actively discouraged from participating in work outside the home and political activities. In contrast, more than twice as large a percent of the comparison group were encouraged to participate in social clubs. See Table 4.

In summary, it appears that more of the leaders were encouraged to participate in the less traditional spheres of activity for women, e.g., work outside the home and politics. In contrast, more of the women in the comparison group were encouraged in the traditional spheres of home, church, and social clubs.

A specific question was asked concerning the reinforcement or type of feedback the women in both groups received in relation to their involvement in community projects. Results are shown on Table 5. Once more a consistently higher percent of the leaders felt their mothers, fathers, and husbands would approve their involvement in the community.

TABLE 3

PERSONS CITED AS SIGNIFICANT OTHERS
BY ACTIVE AND COMPARISON GROUPS
(Percentages)

	A (N=60)	C (N=91)
Mother	18.33	14.29
Father	15.00	7.69
Friend, R's age	1.67	0
Friend, older	1.67	0
Teacher	1.67	2.20
Female relative	1.67	7.69
Male relative	1.67	2.20
Husband	30.00	43.96
Son	0	0
Daughter	0	2.20
Self	6.67	3.30
Other	16.67	7.70
DK	0	1.10
No response	0	5.49
An employer	5.00	2.20
	100.02	100.02

A = Active female leaders
C = Comparison Group

TABLE 4

ENCOURAGEMENT OF ACTIVITIES
(Percentages)*

	Encouraging		Neutral		Discouraging		No Response	
	A (N=60)	C (N=91)	A	C	A	C	A	C
Home	70.0	82.4	18.3	5.5	0	1.1	11.7	11.0
Church	65.0	73.6	23.3	11.0	0	4.4	11.7	11.0
Work	60.0	53.8	21.7	7.7	5.0	25.3	13.3	13.2
Social Clubs	28.3	62.6	48.3	13.2	10.0	12.1	13.3	12.1
Political	50.0	40.7	33.3	24.2	3.3	24.2	13.3	11.0

A = Active Women (female leaders)

C = Comparison Group

*Percentages are rounded

TABLE 5

REINFORCEMENT FOR COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

(Percentages)*

Would the following people tend to approve, disapprove, or be indifferent to your involvement in community projects?

	Approve		Disapprove		Indifferent		Inappropriate		No Response	
	A (N=60)	C (N=91)	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C
Mother	73.3	47.3	1.7	1.1	10.0	7.7	13.3	42.9	1.7	1.1
Father	68.3	39.6	0	1.1	6.7	5.5	23.3	52.7	1.7	1.1
Husband	75.0	57.1	5.0	13.2	3.3	9.9	15.3	16.5	1.7	3.3
Children	56.7	59.3	8.3	5.5	8.3	23.1	21.7	9.9	5.0	2.2
Employer	36.7	40.7	0	1.1	3.3	6.6	55.0	49.5	5.0	2.2

A = Active women (female leaders)

C = Comparison Group

*Percentages are rounded

Given the stated importance of the husband in relation to the significant others data, it is of interest to note that approximately three times as many husbands of the comparison group were believed to be either disapproving or indifferent to their wives' participation in community activities than were the husbands of the leaders. In summary, it would appear that more of the leaders receive more reinforcement from more people for community participation than do the comparison group of women.

Participation in Decision-Making and Leadership Roles

Leadership has been measured by the amount of decision-making with which the individuals are involved and the number of offices they have held. Within the social learning framework, it could be hypothesized that these female leaders have had more experience in relation to decision-making and office-holding than the comparison group of women and that further, these experiences were reinforced with positive feedback by their peers and parents. Having peers elect one to office as well as having one's opinion sought could be regarded as a form of positive feedback since, in both instances, there is an element of being held in high regard. Accordingly, data are presented in relation to some aspects of experience in decision-making, office-holding, and whether peers sought the female leaders' opinions while they were in high school and college.

Majority of the female leaders claim to have "had their say" in family decisions while they were growing up. In response to the question,

"When you were growing up did you get to have your say in family decisions or were the decisions made solely by your parents?" Sixty-three and three tenths percent of the female leaders said they participated in decisions while 35 percent said the decisions were made solely by their parents and 1.7 percent did not know. Unfortunately, the comparison group of women were not asked this particular question. However, comparable data are available on who made the most important family decisions for both groups of women. More than twice as many of the female leaders stated that the "family" as opposed to one or both parents made important family decisions. See Table 6.

In relation to office-holding, the data indicate that the female leaders held more class offices or headed more organizations in both high school and college than the comparison group of women. See Table 7. Of those who attended college from both groups, 21.7 percent of the active women as opposed to 8.8 percent of the comparison group held offices while in college.

The opinions of the female leaders were sought more often than were those of the comparison group. See Table 7. This is another indicator of leadership roles having been assumed by these active women over a period of many years. These women appear to have been held in high regard and received positive feedback from parents and peers for the decision-making roles they assumed.

TABLE 6

DECISION-MAKING EXPERIENCE

(Percentages)*

Were most important family decisions made by:

	Active Women (N=60)	Comparison Group (N=91)
Father	21.7	22.0
Mother	15.0	20.9
Both	48.3	47.3
Family	13.3	5.5
DK	1.7	2.2
No response	0	2.2
	100.0	100.1*

*Percentages are rounded

TABLE 7

INDICATORS OF LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE
(Percentages)*

A. Did you hold any class offices or head any school organizations in high school? (Percentages)

	Active Women (N=60)	Comparison Group (N=91)
Yes	55.0	42.9
No	38.3	42.9
DK	3.3	14.3
No response	3.3	0

B. Did you hold any class offices or head any school organizations in college?

	Active Women	Comparison Group
Yes	21.7	8.8
No	31.7	28.6
DK	1.7	0
No response	45.0	65.6

C. When you were in high school and/or college, how often did your classmates ask your opinion about activities and issues?

	Active Women	Comparison Group
Hardly ever	13.3	12.1
Sometimes	38.3	53.8
Very	40.0	17.6
DK	5.0	0
No response	3.3	16.5

*Percentages are rounded

Modeling Influences in Relation to Community Participation

Learning through modeling is emphasized with social learning theory. The influence of example is clearly stressed as is the importance of the people with whom one associates. Since children are associated almost daily with their parents and the parents are usually in positions of power in relation to the children, it was hypothesized that the parents may have served as important models in regard to community activities for the female leaders. Accordingly, the data on community activities of the parents are presented.

A somewhat higher percent of the leaders' mothers compared to the comparison group were very active in the community: e.g., 25 percent to 20.9. But, 43.3 percent of the leaders' mothers were not at all active in community affairs while only 33 percent of the comparison groups' mothers were not at all active. However, 65 percent of the mothers of the leaders worked outside the home while only 42.9 percent of the mothers for the comparison group did so. See Table 8. Although more of the leaders' mothers were not active in community activities, the majority of them were outside the home in what was then a nontraditional working role in the community. (The average age of the female leaders was 48 which means the mothers were of a generation when working outside the home was the exception rather than the role.) Further, this working role may have precluded these mothers from assuming more obligations in the community. It is possible that the working role of the mother is at least or possibly more salient in serving as a modeling influence relevant to becoming involved in the community and serving in capacities

outside the home. See Table 8.

Results of the inquiry in relation to the community activities of the father are also shown in Table 8. In general, the fathers of the comparison group were more active in community affairs than were the fathers of the female leaders. Approximately 32 percent of the fathers of the comparison group were cited as being very active in community affairs while only 26 percent of the leaders' fathers were placed in this category. Further, 43.3 percent of the leaders' fathers were not at all active in contrast to 30.8 percent of the comparison groups' fathers.

Given that a greater percent of the mothers than the fathers was cited as being the most significant other by both groups of women, one can not discount the possibility of the mother's serving as a more important modeling influence than the father in relation to the community involvement of the daughter.

Summary and Conclusions

The first hypothesis appears to be supported by the data. The female leaders were not only encouraged to participate in the less traditional spheres of political activities and work outside the home but they were reinforced by encouragement from mother, father, and husband to continue their participation in community projects. The comparison group, in contrast received more reinforcement to participate in the traditional spheres of home, church, and social clubs. A considerably smaller percent of the comparison group received encouragement to participate in community projects.

TABLE 8

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES OF PARENTS
(Percentages)*

A. Would you say that your father was very active, somewhat active, or not at all active in community affairs?

	Active Women (N=60)	Comparison Group (N=91)
Very Active	26.	31.9
Somewhat active	30.	33.0
Not at all active	43.3	30.8
DK	0	3.3
No response	0	1.1

B. Would you say that your mother was very active, somewhat active, or not at all active in community affairs?

	Active Women	Comparison Group
Very active	25.0	20.9
Somewhat active	30.0	44.0
Not at all active	43.3	33.0
DK	0	1.1
No response	1.7	1.1

C. Did mother work outside the home?

	Active Women	Comparison Group
Yes	65.0	42.9
No	35.0	57.1

*Percentages rounded

The second hypothesis also appears to be supported. More of the female leaders have apparently participated since childhood in decision-making activities and leadership roles. A greater percent of them had been involved in family decision-making and had held offices in high school and college organizations than the comparison group. Further, they were more frequently consulted by their peers for their opinions about activities and issues.

The third hypothesis does not appear to be fully supported. Although a slightly higher percent of the mothers of the female leaders had been active in community projects, a larger percent of the leaders' mothers than those of the comparison group had not been active at all in this sphere. However, a larger percent of the leaders' mothers worked outside the home and thus presented a less traditional role model to their daughters than was done by the mothers of the comparison group. The fathers of the female leaders appear to have been less active in community projects than the fathers of the comparison group. Given that the father was named less often than the mother as being the most significant other for both groups of women, his role in community activities may be less salient to the daughters than that of the mother. It would appear that reinforcement via encouragement from parents, peers, and husband may be very important to the amount of time women will devote to community activities. Experience in both decision-making and office-holding are also probably not inconsequential to such participation as both would provide opportunities for positive feedback and thus reinforce the behavior.

If more women are to become involved in leadership roles in community projects, it would appear that they probably should receive active decision-making experience from childhood on and furthermore, be given encouragement from significant others in such activities.

People working with community problems frequently cite "lack of leadership" as being one of the most serious problems in relation to implementing programs and working towards resolution of serious issues. There may be a pool of female leadership talent and time which, with proper encouragement from peers and husbands, could be utilized to help solve community problems more quickly.

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Patricia Shifferd

WOMEN AND MEN IN COMMUNITY LIFE:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Two facets of community participation were investigated in this paper: (1) organizational participation, and (2) informal communication networks. Organizational participation was analyzed within a role theory framework. It was hypothesized that the women would be more active than the men in educational, health and welfare, religious, homemaker, artistic, and social service organizations if they were traditionally oriented. Men were expected to be more active in the instrumental realms of business, finance, politics, and the professions. Informal communication networks among the active women and the influential men were mapped to determine possible underlying differences in orientation toward the decision-making structure of the community.

Measurements of several variables were available to compare the active women with the influential men and community knowledgeables. However, the comparisons should be viewed as merely suggestive of the overall community participation and power of men and women leaders. The methodology by which each group was chosen places a substantial restriction on comparability. The reader will recall that the women were chosen by a combination of reputational, positional, and decision-making methods. The men, however, were chosen by the reputational method alone, while the community knowledgeables were selected by the positional method

alone.* How this may have altered the composition of the sample is, of course, not known. We do know that other studies[17] have shown that observers using reputational methodology are more likely to "find" an elitist power structure while those who use decision-making methods "find" pluralist power structures. Elitist power structures are more likely to be composed of members of the business community[18] while pluralist conceptions emphasize, by definition, leaders from various sectors or fractions within the community.[19] It seems reasonable to conclude the influential men sample will probably emphasize the interests of the business community more than the other two groups. Comparison of the occupational composition of the three groups shows this is strikingly the case.

*In this analysis the male influentials number 49; there are 50 knowledgeables, 8 women and 42 men. The original sample of informants numbered 106; seven of these (6 knowledgeables and one influential) were later identified as active women and were excluded from the influential and knowledgeable groups to avoid overlap.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE THREE GROUPS

	Active Women (N=60)		Influentials (N=49)		Knowledgeables (N=50)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional and Technical	22	36.67	14	28.57	17	34.00
Managers, officials and proprietors	16	26.67	28	57.14	25	50.00
Farmers	1	1.67	1	2.04	1	2.00
Clerical	3	5.00	-	-	-	-
Sales	1	1.67	4	8.16	3	6.00
Craftsmen	-	-	-	-	1	2.00
Operatives	-	-	-	-	1	2.00
Services	-	-	1	2.04	-	-
No Response	16	26.67	1	2.04	2	4.00

Further, when we divide the second category into business occupations (managers and proprietors) and political offices (officials) we see that the active men are more strongly involved in business activities.

TABLE 10

MANAGERS, OFFICIALS AND PROPRIETORS-SUBDIVIDED

	Active Women (N=16)		Influentials (N=28)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Managers and Proprietors	10	63	21	75
Officials	6	37	7	25
Total	16	100	28	100

This composition will be reflected in some of the findings to follow; for example we will see that the active men are significantly more likely to belong to business organizations.

We cannot state what, if anything, these differences in composition tell us about the operation of the "real" power structure in our test communities. Interpretation of our findings will no doubt be influenced by the reader's own theoretical position about the exercise of power in community life. It is not our purpose, however, to offer an answer to this intriguing question. We want to see what form and direction the community participation of our active women group takes in comparison to other active groups within the same towns. Therefore, if appropriate

caution about the strict comparability of the three groups is exercised, we can proceed to investigate what differences, if any, exist in these areas.

What direction might we expect the community activities of women to take? The traditional role of women, of course, is to provide comfort and consolation for others. This general expressive function[20] includes home and family, school, church, the arts, and also general charity (which in modern society might be called health and welfare). Presumably, then, insofar as traditional definitions of women's place still hold sway we would expect women to be more active than men in educational, health and welfare, religious, homemaker, artistic, social service and perhaps social organizations. Further, we might expect women to be oriented toward these types of issues within the community. Men, on the other hand, would be expected to be more active in the instrumental realms. We should find a greater participation of men in business, financial, professional, and political organizations and a focus of male interest on such issues. Conversely, in a society with completely equalitarian definitions of sex role we would expect to find no differences between men and women in the kind of community activities and orientations.

Although some of the roles of women in our society have been changing rapidly, we know that rural areas are slower to change and hence likely to persist in traditional types of social structure. Since our test site was a largely rural area in Wisconsin it would be reasonable to expect fairly traditional activities on the part of men and women.

In order to describe the community activities of men and women, we have defined the following variables:

I. Community Participation:

a. Organizational participation

1) Overall number of organizational memberships

2) Type of affiliations defined by sector, such as business, educational, political, etc.

3) The level of affiliations, i.e., local or nonlocal. We might suppose men to be more involved outside the local community than women.

4) The sexual composition of affiliation, whether all male, all female, or mixed. Presumably in traditional role definitions men and women each have their own organizations so we might expect each sex to belong to same-sex-organizations more than mixed.

b. Informal communication networks, the "grapevine" phenomenon, measured by whom respondents say they talk to about community affairs, including:

1) The number of other leaders, both male and female

2) The number of political office-holders

3) The sexual composition of these contacts, whether same sex or not.

Each variable will be considered in turn.

Organizational Affiliation:

The average number of memberships for each type of organization can be compared for the active women and the other two groups combined:

TABLE 11

MEAN NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS PER PERSON

Type of Organization	Active Women (N=60)	Influentials and Knowledgeables (N=99)
Business	.15	1.12
Educational	.77	.28
Financial	.07	.17
Health	.77	.12
Civic/social service	1.12	.79
Political	.53	.22
Professional	.52	.37
Religious	1.35	.56
Country Club	.13	.20
Social/fraternal	.50	.41
Home-oriented	.08	-
Other (including the arts)	.10	-
Total	$\bar{X}$ = 6.07 s = 3.04	$\bar{X}$ = 4.25 s = 2.46

Women belong to more organizations on the average than the comparison group of influentials and knowledgeables. This difference (6.07 for women, 4.25 for the others) is significant at better than the .01 level.*

When we break these memberships down into type, we can compare the active women with the other two groups. By classifying responses according to whether or not the members of each group hold membership(s) in each kind of organization we get the following frequencies:

*t - test for difference between means: $t = 4.13$. Critical value of t at $= .01$ with 157 degrees of freedom is approximately 2.61.

TABLE 12

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF MEMBERSHIPS VS. NONMEMBERSHIP
IN VARIOUS KINDS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Organization	Group	Nonmember No.	%	Member No.	%
Business	AW	52	(86.7)	8	(13.3)
	I	17	(34.7)	32	(65.3)
	K	23	(46.0)	27	(54 0)
Educational	AW	36	(60.0)	24	(40.0)
	I	37	(75.5)	12	(24.5)
	K	43	(86.0)	7	(14.0)
Financial	AW	56	(93.3)	4	(6.7)
	I	39	(79.6	10	(20.4)
	K	47	(94.0)	3	(6.0)
Health	AW	38	(63.3)	22	(36.7)
	I	41	(83.67)	8	(16.33)
	K	46	(92.0)	4	(8.0)
Civic/Social service	AW	24	(40.0)	36	(60.0)
	I	16	(32.65)	33	(67.35)
	K	26	(52.0)	24	(48.0)
Political	AW	39	(65.0)	21	(35.0)
	I	38	(77.55)	11	(22.45)
	K	42	(84.0)	8	(16.0)
Professional	AW	43	(71.7)	17	(28.3)
	I	37	(75.5)	12	(24.5)
	K	39	(78.0)	21	(22.0)
Religious	AW	13	(21.7)	47	(78.3)
	I	25	(51.0)	24	(49.0)
	K	28	(56.0)	22	(44.0)
Country Club	AW	53	(88.3)	7	(11.7)
	I	39	(79.6)	10	(20.4)
	K	42	(84.0)	8	(16.0)
Social/fraternal	AW	41	(68.3)	19	(31.7)
	I	31	(63.3)	18	(36.7)
	K	39	(78.0)	11	(22.0)
Home-oriented	AW	55	(92.0)	5	(8.0)
	I	49	(100)	0	(0)
	K	5	(100)	0	(0)
Other (includes environmental, art-related, and all other)	AW	55	(92.0)	5	(8.0)
	I	49	(100)	0	(0)
	K	50	(100)	0	(0)

AW = Active Women; N=60
I = Influentials; N=49
K = Knowledgeables; N=50

Are the organizational activities of the active women traditional in nature? First we may note that only a very small number of active women belong to home-related organizations. In addition, the final category (which includes the arts, among others) is similarly distributed. This lack of activity in the arts among all our samples is clearly a function of structural opportunity. In rural areas there are very few symphony orchestras, art museums, theater associations, and so on. Only one of the communities had any such activities. Therefore, the data cannot offer any guidance about the channeling of women's activities into this area.

For home-related organizations, however, there is no lack of availability. Every community has homemaker's clubs and a variety of other "women's skills" organizations. So the lack of participation must be seen as lack of interest in this type of activity by the active women. The traditional role definitions are not supported.

For all the other types of organizations the chi-square test for goodness of fit was performed for the active women (N=60) and influential men (N=49) samples only. The results of these tests are as follows:

TABLE 13

DIFFERENCES IN TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION

ACTIVE WOMEN COMPARED TO INFLUENTIAL MEN

Type of Organization	Chi-Square	Significance level	Is the traditional role model supported?
Business	33.79	$p < .001$	yes
Educational	3.93	n.s.	no
Financial	4.96	$p < .05$	yes
Health	5.60	$p < .05$	yes
Civic/Social service	.63	n.s.	no
Political	2.05	n.s	no
Professional	.21	n.s.	no
Religious	10.24	$p < .01$	yes
Country Club	1.57	n.s.	no
Social/fraternal	.31	n.s.	no

We can see that while the influential men were more likely than the active women to belong to business and financial organizations, they were no more likely to participate in political and professional groups. On the other hand while the active women were more likely than the influential men to belong to health and religious organizations, they were no more likely to join civic, educational, or social groups. The active women were generally not active in home-related organizations and we can draw no conclusions about the arts. Therefore, the sample of active women only partially fulfills the traditional "kinder, kirche, and Kuche" definition in this rural Wisconsin region.

Next, the level of the organizational memberships of the two groups was considered. The organizations were coded according to whether they were primarily a local or nonlocal (e.g., state or national) organization. It is apparent from Table 14 that both the men and women were strongly local in their organizational affiliation.

TABLE 14

LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Group	Local Organization	Nonlocal Organization
Active Women (N=60)	154	43
Influential Men (N=49)	238	54

Chi-Square = .82 not significant

This is probably a reflection of the methodology by which the groups were chosen, since both studies were explicitly oriented toward local community life.

The final aspect of organizational membership considered is how "sexually segregated" such affiliations were. Each type of organization was coded according to whether it was a predominantly female, predominantly male, or mixed organization. By summing across categories the following table was prepared:

TABLE 15

SEXUAL COMPOSITION OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Group	Female Organizations	Male Organizations	Mixed
Active Women (N=60)	79	7	100
Influential Men (N=49)	1	95	59

If we simplify this table by eliminating the small number of cases where a person belonged to an organization composed primarily of members of the opposite sex, we obtained the following:

TABLE 15A

SEXUAL COMPOSITION OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Group	Same Sex Organization	Mixed Organization
Active Women (N=60)	79	100
Influential Men (N=49)	95	59

The active women belonged to more mixed organizations than they did to all female groups. The men, on the other hand, belonged to more all male groups than to mixed groups. The chi-square for this distribution is 10.22, significant at the .01 level. The active men were more "sexually segregated" in their affiliations than the active women.

The same kind of conclusion is reached when we move on to the second major community participation variable, the informal communication networks of the men and women. Each respondent was asked whom they talked to about community affairs. The resulting names were coded from the various lists of active women and influential men in the two studies and known government officials mentioned either by name or office.

TABLE 16

MEAN NUMBER OF INFORMAL CONTACTS MENTIONED PER PERSON:

	Contacts who were active women	Contacts who were influential men	Contacts who were governmental officials	Total $\bar{X}$ Contacts
Active Women (N=60)	.25	.47	.63	4.43
Influential Men & Knowledgeables (N=99)	.05	1.23	.89	4.04

The male influential and knowledgeables combined said they talked to a higher number of influential men than to active women on the average. Furthermore, the active women said they talked to more influential men than to other active women. These differences are striking since both groups reported about the same number of informal contacts. This suggests that the active women may not be as cohesive a group as the men. We might conclude that male leaders are more recognized and sought out than female leaders.

We can see that the active women were not confined to interaction with other women. This conclusion is drawn more forcibly when we note the sex of the people the respondents said they talked to about community affairs:

TABLE 17

SEX OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS

Group	All Female	All Male	Mixed	No Response
Active Women (N=60)	6	21	31	2
Influential men (N=49)	1	38	7	3
Knowledgeables (N=50)	2	36	10	2

Comparing just the active women and influential men we get a chi-square statistic of 22.55 which is significant at the .001 level. While influential men are more likely to report interaction with just other men, the active women are more likely to interact with either just men or with both men and women. From the last three tables it appears that active women move in the worlds of both women and men. They constitute, we may speculate, a link or bridge between the two spheres of interaction.

Perceptions of Power Structure

In order to assess how our respondents saw the way decisions were made in their local communities and what the loci of influence are we asked all three groups the following question: "If you felt that something really needed doing in (name of local community), who would be able to do something about it?"

The list of names, offices, and organizations elicited were coded in the following ways:

1. Total number of individuals/groups mentioned.

2. Number of active women mentioned.

3. Number of active men mentioned.

4. Number of government officials mentioned by name.
   We developed a list of officeholders for each community.

5. Number of government offices or bodies named.
   (e.g., "the Kiwanis," "the women's club")

6. Number of nongovernmental organizations mentioned.
   (e.g., "the Kiwanis," "the women's club")

These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive since some of our influential men and women were political officeholders. The mean number of names mentioned in each category is reported in Table 18. The knowledgeables and influential men are calculated together.

TABLE 18

MEAN NUMBER OF PERSONS PERCEIVED TO HAVE INFLUENCE IN EACH CATEGORY,

ACTIVE WOMEN COMPARED TO INFLUENTIAL MEN AND KNOWLEDGEABLES

	Total No. Mentioned		Active Women		Influential Men*		Government Officials		Office or Bodies		Formal Organizations	
	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s
Active Women (N=60)	3.48	2.13	.13	.34	.75	1.07	.483	.31	.50	.83	.43	.83
Influential Men and Knowledgeables (N=99)	3.76	2.57	.19	.51	1.34	1.44	.56	.78	.39	1.06	.24	.55

*t-test for difference between means significant at .01 level of probability. All other categories are not significant.

This table reveals that both groups mentioned about the same number of people on the average. Interestingly, both groups also named active men most often, the active men nominating each other at a very high rate. The active women were mentioned least often by both themselves than the other group was.

The active women more often referred to the political decision-makers in terms of their office and more frequently mentioned other formal groups. The men referred to political decision-makers by name somewhat more frequently. However, the differences are small and not significant, so there is no basis for concluding that some underlying difference in orientation toward the decision-making structure exists.

The actual power of the various groups has not been measured, of course. But, it is clear that both groups thought the influential men exercise substantial power while the active women were relative non-influential.

Patricia Shifferd

WOMEN AND MEN IN COMMUNITY LIFE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY ORIENTATION

In the foregoing paper the actual participation of women and women in community life was detailed. In this paper a comparison will be made on how the women and men evaluate the issues and services of their communities.

Issue Orientation

Respondents were asked what issues had been most important in their local communities in the past five years. Up to four of the issues mentioned were coded using a specific and a general coding system. This provided insight into the special concerns occupying the citizens of each community and allowed general comparisons to be made among communities. The respondents in two communities frequently mentioned downtown redevelopment projects currently being planned while persons in other communities were concerned about school bond issues, finding a site for sanitary land fill, and so forth. More general concerns such as unemployment or political corruption were also widely found.

For the purposes of general comparison the specific issues were collapsed into the following categories:

1. Economic development
2. Environment, land use, and transportation.
3. Political structure and process
4. Health and welfare
5. Education
6. Family and sex roles
7. All others (e.g., religion, crime)

By adding the responses for the first four issues mentioned, a general perspective was obtained on the kinds of local concerns the members of the various samples had. The following table shows the distribution of responses among our three samples.

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO CATEGORIES OF ISSUES

(No. of Times Mentioned)

	Economic Development	Environment and Transportation	Political	Health and Welfare	Education	Family and Sex	Other	Total
Active Women (N=60)	23	46	17	21	27	12	9	155
Influential Men (N=49)	39	57	12	18	19	5	10	160
Knowledgeables (N=50)	29	32	16	13	19	2	13	124
Total	91	135	45	52	65	19	32	439

The influential men mentioned more issues on the average ($\overline{X}$ = 3.45) than did the active women ($\overline{X}$ = 2.58) or community knowledgeables ($\overline{X}$ = 2.48). However, a chi-square test performed on the distribution did not reach the .05 level of significance. This is true whether we compare all three groups (chi-square = 19.98, 12 df. critical values at .05 is 21.026) or if we focus on just the active women and the influential men (chi-square = 10.64, 6 df., critical value at .05 level is 14.45). There does not appear to be any real difference in the overall concerns of the various groups. The women were not particularly oriented toward the traditional areas of female concerns.

It might be argued, however, that the first issue mentioned might be an important clue to the kinds of issues with which the respondent is most concerned. A comparison of the first issue cited by the active women and influential men yields the following distribution:

TABLE 20

FIRST LOCAL ISSUE CITED

(No. of Times Mentioned)

	Economic Development	Environment and Transportation	Political	Health and Welfare	Education	Family and Sex	Other	Total
Active Women (N=60)	8	20	5	9	10	5	0	57
Influential Men (N=49)	17	19	5	2	6	0	0	49
Total	25	39	10	11	16	5	0	106

In order to perform a chi-square test it was necessary to combine categories. The traditional role model might specify the following categories:

TABLE 21

FIRST LOCAL ISSUE CITED AS DEFINED BY
A TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE MODEL

	"Men's Issues" Econ. and Politics	Other Issues Environment, Land Use and Transportation	"Women's Issues" Health and Education, Welfare and Family	Total
Active Women (N=60)	13	20	24	57
Influential Men (N=49)	22	19	8	49
Total	35	39	32	106

Chi-square = 9.79, 2 df., significant at .01 level

There is a substantial difference between the two groups, and as far as the first issue mentioned is concerned, the traditional role model is supported.

However, it could be argued that the family and sex roles category is not properly considered a traditional women's area, since expressions of concern for equality for women (the E.R.A., etc.) are included in this group. If the five cases found in this category are omitted, the resulting chi-square of 6.74 is significant at the .05 level. The traditional

role model receives some support. These results should be treated carefully, however; the reader will recall the heavy predominance of downtown businessmen in the Influential Men sample. This is reflected in the number of them who mentioned an economic development type issue as their first concern.

Evaluation of Community Services

As a final basis of comparison, the active women and influential men (the knowledgeables were excluded) were asked whether a long list of typical community services should be expanded, kept as is, or cut back.* The results are found in Table 22. By scoring these responses as an ordinal scale (Expanded = 1, Kept as is = 2, Cut = 3) the general opinions of the two groups can be roughly evaluated. Both the mean scores and frequencies are given.

*The exact question read, "I am going to read a list of programs and services which are common in most communities. Given the present needs of your community, I want you to tell me whether you think these particular programs should be expanded, kept the same, or cut back. Keep in mind that more services generally mean higher taxes unless other programs are cut back."

TABLE 22

EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, ACTIVE WOMEN AND INFLUENTIAL MEN

Service	Group No. Responding	$\bar{X}$	Expanded	Kept as Is	Cut Back
Police	Women (59)	1.59	24	35	0
	Men (47)	1.68	15	32	0
Schools	Women (55)	1.50	24	30	1
	Men (47)	1.66	17	29	1
Adult Education	Women (56)	1.34	37	19	0
	Men (47)	1.55*	23	22	2
Libraries	Women (57)	1.39	36	23	0
	Men (46)	1.46	25	21	0
Fire Protection	Women (57)	1.88	8	48	1
	Men (47)	1.79	10	37	0
University Extension	Women (39)	1.41	24	14	1
	Men (46)	1.83*	14	26	6
Job training for unemployed	Women (42)	1.29	30	12	0
	Men (45)	1.58*	22	20	3
Programs for youth	Women (57)	1.25	43	14	0
	Men (47)	1.38	29	18	0
Programs for aged	Women (59)	1.53	29	29	1
	Men (47)	1.34	32	14	1
Drug Prevention & treatment	Women (53)	1.42	31	22	0
	Men (46)	1.43	27	18	1
Hospitals & Med. care	Women (59)	1.63	22	37	0
	Men (47)	1.68	16	30	1
Ambulance	Women (57)	1.67	19	38	0
	Men (47)	1.62	18	29	0
Mental Health	Women (49)	1.61	20	28	1
	Men (44)	1.82	10	32	2
Family Planning	Women (48)	1.69	18	27	3
	Men (47)	1.79	11	35	1
Social Service (Welfare)	Women (52)	2.17	7	29	16
	Men (46)	2.52*	1	20	25
Public Housing	Women (53)	1.47	33	15	5
	Men (46)	1.72	20	19	7
Roads, Highways	Women (56)	1.91	7	47	2
	Men (45)	1.58*	19	26	0

TABLE 22 (Continued)

Service	Group No. Responding	$\bar{X}$	Expanded	Kept as Is	Cut Back
Public Transport	Women (53)	1.45	29	24	0
	Men (47)	1.51	25	20	2
Public Promotion of Industry	Women (56)	1.41	36	17	3
	Men (47)	1.30	34	12	1
Public Promotion of Tourism	Women (55)	1.56	24	31	0
	Men (46)	1.59	20	25	1
Solid Waste Disposal	Women (55)	1.56	24	31	0
	Men (47)	1.49	25	21	1
Water Pollution Control	Women (59)	1.58	26	32	1
	Men (47)	1.62	21	23	3
Conservation (Soil and Water)	Women (51)	1.75	14	36	1
	Men (45)	1.56	20	25	0
Parks	Women (60)	1.82	12	47	1
	Men (47)	1.6 *	19	28	0
Consumer Protection	Women (52)	1.52	27	23	2
	Men (46)	1.87*	14	25	8
Banks/Credit asst.	Women (53)	1.72	16	36	1
	Men (46)	1.83	12	30	4
Shopping Facilities	Women (59)	1.63	25	31	3
	Men (44)	1.57	20	23	1
Art & Music Programs	Women (58)	1.47	31	28	0
	Men (45)	1.76*	11	34	0
Variety of Stores	Women (58)	1.60	24	33	1
	Men (46)	1.48	25	20	1

*t-test for difference between sample means significant at .05 or better level of probability.

This table appears to indicate a general agreement between the two groups. The differences between the groups were small and the opinions did not vary widely. The slight differences are mainly a matter of favoring adjacent categories rather than diametrically opposed opinions. This finding is not surprising since both groups have higher than average income and education levels.*

The opinions, with the exception of social services, in general favor expansion or maintenance of community services over cutting them back. Seldom did any substantial numbers of respondents favor cutting back on a service. The general negative evaluation of the social services/welfare system is an outstanding exception to this.

Consider the significant differences that were found:

TABLE 23

PROGRAMS HAVING SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN SUPPORT BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

Program	Group more Supportive of Expansion (or opposed to cut back)
Adult Education	Women
University-Extension	Women
Job Training	Women
Social Services	Women
Roads & Highways	Men
Parks	Men
Consumer Protection	Women
Art & Music Programs	Women

* $\bar{X}$ age of male influentials = 51; $\bar{X}$ years of educations = 18.26; $\bar{X}$ income = $18,400.

The traditional role model hypothesized earlier, again has moderate support. According to that model women might be expected to be supportive of education, welfare, and aesthetic services. Men might be expected to be supportive of the highway system. Yet it might also have been predicted that the men would be more favorable toward programs to upgrade the skills of the unemployed. Considering that women often function as family purchasing agents, their greater support of consumer protection programs can be explained within the role model framework. The model does not predict why men should be more supportive of parks, however. The main conclusion is that although the differences found were fairly understandable given the roles of men and women in society, there were many more areas where the traditional role model might have predicted differences where none were found. The overall similarity of the two groups in their evaluation of community services must again be noted.

Nancy Anderson

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INTERESTS OF ACTIVE AND COMPARISON WOMEN

One of the major factors differentiating the active women in this study from the women in the next-door-neighbor comparison group was their educational level. With a group mean of 14.5 years of school as compared to 12.5 years among the comparison women, the active women had significantly more education (t (146 = 3.92, $p < .0001$). Thirty-seven percent of these women had high school educations, 20 percent some college; 18 percent were college graduates, and another 25 percent had done graduate work. On the average they completed two years of college. Of those who attended college, the majority were in areas of study which have been traditionally female: education, liberal arts, home economics, the fine arts, and so on.

Among both the active and the comparison women, those living in the more urbanized areas had reached significantly higher educational levels than the women in the rural areas (t (150) = -4.09, $p < .01$). Among the active women, for instance, 80 percent of the urban women had some college education as opposed to 33 percent of the rural women. This same trend was evident among the comparison women with 46 percent of the urban women with some college but only 23 percent of the rural women.

Although the difference in educational level between the active and comparison women was significant, there was no significant difference between the educational levels of their parents. Nevertheless, the

parents of the active women were somewhat more educated. The mothers of the active women completed a mean of 11.0 years of school, while the fathers completed 11.1 years. The mothers of the comparison women, on the other hand, completed 10.1 years and the fathers 10.0. Both the educational levels of the mothers (X^2 (4) = 75.97, $p < .0000$) and the fathers (X^2 (4) = 88.50, $p < .0000$) of the active women were higher in the urban areas. This was true only for the fathers of the comparison women (X^2 (2) = 6.71, $p < .03$).

Questioned about their parents' aspirations for their education, 27 percent of the active women reported that their parents wanted them to complete high school, while 45 percent had parents who wanted them to obtain a bachelor's degree. Eighty-one percent of these women claimed that their fathers' general attitude toward their education was encouraging and 77 percent that their mothers were encouraging. The parents of the active women seemed to be quite supportive in this regard. Perhaps as a reflection of this, the active women appear to have done better in school than the comparison women--at least at the high school level. Seventy-eight percent of the active women reported themselves to be in the top quarter of their high school graduating class as compared to 40 percent of the comparison women. This difference is highly significant (X^2 (2) = 22.09, $p < .0000$). The active women may well be more intelligent than their less active counterparts.

When asked why they discontinued their education at the level they did, the reasons mentioned most often by the active women were financial

reasons and marriage. These constituted 23 and 20 percent of the total answers for this question respectively. Another 10 percent of the responses indicated children as the reason. Interestingly, a number of women responded to this question by saying they did not feel they had discontinued their education. Fifteen percent of all the responses were in this direction. These four categories were the largest single categories of responses given for this question.

Asked specifically whether they had ever felt they would like to continue their formal education, significantly more of the active than the comparison women expressed this desire (X^2 (1) = 12.04, $p < .0005$). Seventy-eight percent of the active women said yes, while only 48 percent of the comparison women answered affirmatively. Although this question measures only desire, other information obtained from these women indicates the active women were likely to act on this. Fifty-eight percent of the active women, for instance, had attended University-Extension programs, while only 19 percent of the comparison women had made use of this facility (X^2 (1) = 23.45, $p < .0000$).

In order to assess the current educational needs and interests of the active women, they were asked a series of three open-ended questions on this topic. Due to financial and time constraints, the comparison women were only asked one of these questions. Intercoder reliability or agreement for the categories created for these questions was better than 80 percent. The first question asked the active women was: "Thinking not necessarily in terms of school, are there any areas of

interest you would like to pursue or personal skills you would like to develop at this point in your life?" Again, 78 percent of them said yes. In spite of the reminder to not think specifically in terms of school, 42 percent of all the responses on this question were directed toward academically-oriented subjects such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, history, and languages, etc.

Other categories that drew a number of responses were art-related and home-related skills. Learning needlepoint, sewing, cooking, ceramics, photography, and how to paint and play the piano were favorite responses. Thirty-one percent of all of the responses fell into these two categories. Other areas that received some attention were games, sports, and outdoor skills (11%) (i.e., bridge, tennis, and camping), business and occupational skills (6%) (i.e., computer skills and typing), subjects related to family, sex roles and life cycle (4%) (i.e., family relations and adolescent development), and interpersonal skills (3%) (i.e., discussion and persuasion techniques and group skills).

Considering the fact that the mean age of the active women was 48 years old, these findings are of special interest. Regardless of their age, it appears that many of these women are interested in subjects legitimately offered through University or University-Extension Systems. The percentage of active women who wished to continue their education, plus the type of subject matter they were interested in, confirm the need for developing continuing education programs for this population of women. This becomes even more evident in the answers to the other questions.

The second question asked the active women was: "In your opinion, are there topics you need to know more about to be more effective in the community?" Seventy percent of the women answered, "yes." Seventy-three percent of all of the responses to this question fell into two main categories: government and politics and business and finance. Forty-three percent of these responses were for government and politics and 30 percent for business and finance. The remainder of the responses were scattered over a number of areas: environment and land use (6%), health and welfare (6%), the social structure (5%), interpersonal skills (5%), family, home, and life cycle (3%), and women's issues (2%).

The responses which were grouped together under government and politics included a number of subcategories. The major area that the active women responded to was government and politics per se. Many women answered "government" or "politics" without elaboration. In fact, very few of the answers in this area were specific. Other responses given verbatim included governmental structure, governmental processes, programs and legislation. Also, special attention was given by some to state and local government and finally, the response "political science" appeared with some frequency.

The general nature of the responses given in this area may be indicative of two things. Either these responses may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of these women to economize in their answers, or they might be taken as evidence of a need for very basic kinds of information with respect to these topics. Other responses to this question seem to argue for the latter interpretation.

A second area under this general framework that drew considerable attention was current issues. Many of these women felt they needed to know more about current events, be it at the local, state, or national levels. This seems to be another indication that these women need to develop fairly basic skills for political or community participation, even though they are some of the more active women in their communities.

A third area under government and politics included a group of responses that echoed the initial question. A number of women answered the question "What topics do you need to know more about to be more effective in the community" with "how to be more effective in the community." Although this answer seems circular and unspecific, it is nonetheless a legitimate topic for women right now. Also, one might know one needs to learn how to become more politically effective without knowing exactly what topics will promote this. Other responses, however, were more specific. One woman, for instance, wanted to know how to run for office, while another wanted to learn how to be an effective force for legislation.

The majority of the responses under business and finance for this question were directed to finance, both public and private. A number of women, for example, said they felt they needed to know more about "economics." Budgeting at all levels of government, taxation (both municipal and state financing including property taxes and the mill rate), public and private financial management, revenue sharing and investments were all mentioned. In terms of business, other responses beside the

general response "business" included business procedures and business management. Government and politics and business and finance, then, seem to be the major areas where the active women felt deficient.

Of the remaining categories two are of particular interest: interpersonal skills and the social structure. The kinds of things these women felt they would like to know more about with respect to interpersonal skills included public speaking, leadership training, assertiveness training, and psychology. As one woman put it, "I need to be able to deal with people in a more tactful manner to get what I want." The other category, labeled the social structure, covered responses such as "who really controls what" and "the whole power thing." Some of the women had a sense they did not know enough about the power structure either in their community or in general.

The third question that was asked the active women was also asked the comparison group. This was "What do you think women in general need to know more about?" Because of its impersonal quality, it was hoped this question would elicit straightforward responses if the others did not. Offering some evidence for the internal validity of the questionnaire, the answers of the active women corresponded closely to those they gave to the second question. Anotner interesting finding was that the answers of the comparison women were surprisingly similar to those of the active women on this question.

Sixty-two percent of all of the responses given by the active women were under government and politics and business and finance, while 61 percent of the responses of the comparison women were in these categories. Looking at the separate breakdowns, 45 percent of the responses

of the active women were for government and politics and 17 percent for business and finance, while the figures for the comparison group were 43 and 18 percent. In other words, the two groups placed almost equal emphasis on these subjects. Other responses on this question from the active and comparison women respectively were: environment and land use (1%, 0%), health and welfare (2%, 1%), the social structure (5%, 2%), family, home, and life cycle (9%, 21%), interpersonal skills (4%, 2%), and women's issues (9%, 10%). The one major difference on these categories seems to be that the active women made fewer responses related to family, home and life cycle.

The specific responses given in the government and politics category by the two groups were almost identical to those given by the active women to the second question. Governmental process and structure at the local, state, and national levels, and current political issues at these various levels were especially stressed as topics women need to know more about. The need for women to learn how to be more politically effective was again a separate subtopic for this category, drawing even more attention than before. Sixteen percent of all the responses made by the active women here indicated they felt women need to learn to be more effective, as compared to eight percent of the responses of the comparison women. Answers such as "women need to know how to get involved," "women need to learn how to operate in organizations," or "women need to know how effective they can be on their own or in a group" were frequent--particularly from the active women. One woman commented: "I'll tell you one thing women should know more about is how their town is run.

I went to a caucus the other night with a neighbor and we were the only two ladies there."

The specific responses given by both groups under business and finance were again similar to those given in the second question. A number of different topics were included, however. Joint tenancies, transfer of properties, income taxes, estate planning, and wills, for example, were added to the list. Again, as with government and politics, the active and comparison women responded at an almost equal rate to this overall category.

Out of the remaining categories, family, home and life cycle and women's issues received the most responses from both the active and comparison groups. Although the family, home and life cycle category included a few responses such as nutrition, household management and repairs, and alternative life-styles, the majority of responses in this category affirmed a traditional role for females. The following types of responses predominated, especially from the comparison women: "women need to know more about their place in the home," "I think women in general should be at home caring for their children and then maybe we wouldn't have so many delinquents," "the home should be first, then women should see the need and reach out," or "I think too many women are too independent. The husband should be the head of the house."

Countering these responses were those coded under women's issues. Although the number of responses under women's issues was the same as those under family, home and life cycle for the active women, this was not the case for the comparison women where this category was half

again as small. Examples of the types of comments that fell into this category are: "women need to know more about women's role in society," "women need to know how they are discriminated against in work and in education," "women need to know about their rights to privileges men have enjoyed for many years," or "women need to know more about themselves and their capabilities."

Both the categories, interpersonal skills and the social structure, received somewhat more attention from the active women than from the comparison women. Besides the topics mentioned previously by the active women, a new response appeared that was coded under interpersonal skills for lack of a better place. That was "personal independence." A few women felt women in general need to develop more of a sense of autonomy. Under social structure, responses were "women need more knowledge of the power structure and how it functions," "women need to know how to live in a man's world," or "with all of the changes, women do not know where they fit today." Although coded and treated separately here, it must be pointed out that these responses may also be considered women's issues, strengthening this category.

As women who are the most active, if not influential, in their communities, community active women are a particularly important group. By the sheer fact of their activity, these women are likely to be in a position of leadership with respect to other women, and as such, they are also the most probable candidates for positions of community leadership from the female population. If our goal is to develop and strengthen the position of women in society, this group is a prime target. The

large percentage of active women who expressed interest in continuing their education, plus the number who had made use of University-Extension facilities, indicate educational programming might be effective toward this end. The responses the active women made to the three questions on their educational needs and interests in this study reveal that these women do feel deficient in a number of areas--primarily those areas which have been male-dominated. Special programming in different facets of government and politics, business and finance, and interpersonal skills that would lead to greater personal and political effectiveness would seem to be of benefit to this group of women. Also programs specifically designed to deal with issues of concern to women as a social group are indicated.

Summary

The active women were significantly more educated than the comparison group and were trained, for the most part, in traditionally female fields. Among both the active and comparison women, those living in the more urbanized areas had significantly higher educations. The parents of the active women were encouraging toward their education, and significantly more of the active women graduated in the top quarter of their high school class than the comparison women. Also, significantly more of the active women expressed a desire to continue their formal education and seemed more likely to take advantage of educational opportunities in their community than the comparison women.

When the active women were asked if there were any areas of interest

they would like to pursue or personal skills they would like to develop, responses directed to academically-oriented subject matter and art and home-related skills were obtained most frequently; the former receiving more attention than the latter. Also, asked what topics they felt they needed to know more about to be more effective in the community, various aspects of government and politics drew the most responses with business and finance following second. Other areas of concern included issues involving environment and land use, health and welfare, the social structure, family, home and life cycle, interpersonal skills and women's issues.

Comparing the responses of the active and control women on the question "what do you think women in general need to know more about," there was very little difference between the two groups. The one exception was that the comparison women emphasized family, home and life cycle more than the active women. Their responses in this category were primarily an affirmation of a traditional role for women. In comparison, the active women seemed more comfortable with a less traditional model. The large majority of responses on this question from both groups, however, was again for government and politics and business and finance.

As potential female community leaders, active women are a prime target for educational programming. Areas in which these women seem most to need information are government and politics, business and finance, and interpersonal skills. Many of the responses of the active women also indicated a need for programs specifically directed toward women's issues.

WE WANT A
5 YEAR
NUCLEAR
MORATORIUM
SPLIT WOOD
NOT ATOMS

Harriett Moyer

ATTITUDES ON THE GROWTH VERSUS POLLUTION ISSUES

"Pollution Control-Economy Conflict Growing More Severe in America,"[21] "Pollution Control is Good for Economy"[22]--these and similar current headlines illustrate the interest in the apparent conflict between industrial growth and pollution control. "The perception of the costs and benefits of pollution control varies among different people. While some believe that environmental protection must take precedence, others insist that economic considerations should hold sway. Polarization between the two extremes is quick to develop, and the controversy breaks down into a hopeless battle of true believers."[23] In Wisconsin, a state rich in natural resources which lend themselves to recreational usage, there is controversy not only over pollution control versus industrial growth but also whether there should be industrial growth at all. Located primarily in the northern part of the state, the same areas in Wisconsin which have the natural resources for recreational usage also have had persistently high unemployment rates in the past. Therefore, the industrial growth versus nongrowth issue and questions about what to do with possible attendant pollution problems are of more than passing interest to community influentials in northern Wisconsin.

A number of studies have indicated that middle or upper middle class persons are most likely to hold environmental conservation values. (Harry et. al., 1969; Devall, 1970; Faich and Gale, 1971; Tognacci

et. al., 1972.) Persons who participate in environmental organizations have largely solved personal economic problems and experience little threat to occupational roles through environmental conversation reform.[24]

Murdock[25] notes that many of the changes required to maintain the environment will "increase the inequality between rich and poor, unless this inequality is alleviated at the same time as steps are taken to improve the environment." The general population appears to be aware of trade-off possibilities and the costs involved to themselves although they may not be aware of some of the inequities. Priorities of the general population were investigated in Wilkening's[26,27] research conducted in eight of Wisconsin's northwest counties. Economic problems were the people's most important concern while concern over general environmental problems appeared to be dropping. The study did, however, seem to indicate a concern for specific environmental problems since although almost 90 percent of the people would favor new industry in their community, only about 25 percent would favor it, if it meant a large increase in air and water pollution. But just what policy is carried out on the growth and environmental protection issue is dependent upon the thinking of community leaders and their influence and functions within the various levels of the political system.

Given what is already known about the occupations and educational levels of the active women, the next-door comparison group, and the male influentials one can generate some hypotheses concerning their relative

support of growth versus pollution programs. Both the active women and the influential men have similar bases of power, e.g., occupation and income levels and information about the community. One might, therefore, expect them to have similar attitudes towards economic growth and environmental protection. Since the active women probably have access to more information about their communities and are probably more involved in the business affairs of the community than the next-door-neighbor group, one might expect them to be more supportive of growth than their neighbors.

Because research has indicated that those with lower levels of income and education are apt to be less concerned with environmental protection and more concerned with economic growth, one could expect to find these same characteristics in evidence within the active women's group. Further, since the educational and income levels among the rural women in the active group are somewhat lower than those of the urban women, rural women might be expected to be more supportive of growth than the urban women.

Specific Problem

The specific problem to be dealt with then is to determine relative degrees of support among the three groups towards growth and promotion of industry in contrast to environmental protection and pollution control programs.

Facets of the problem include:

1. Comparisons of attitudes of male influentials and active women towards growth.

2. Analysis of the active women's attitudes towards growth in relation to their education and income levels and place of residence, e.g., rural or urban.

3. Comparisons of attitudes of the active women towards growth with the next-door-neighbor comparison group.

Methodology

Data for this analysis were utilized from two separate studies, e.g., Johnson[28] and Moyer.[29] In the Johnson study there were 230 influentials identified primarily through a reputational technique in a ten county area of Wisconsin. The Moyer study was completed one year after the Johnson study. For purposes of analysis, a subsample of the Johnson study influentials from the same two counties in which the Moyer study was conducted was utilized as well as the total ten county Johnson sample. Comparisons of percentages within and between samples were utilized. It should be noted that care should be taken in relation to the comparability of the samples since the Moyer sample was identified through a combination of reputational, positional, and decision-making techniques. However, identical questions on the growth and environmental issues were asked in both studies.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were investigated:

1. To the extent that the active women have the same income and occupational characteristics as the influential males, the active women will have the same attitudes towards environmental protection programs and growth as the influential males.

2. To the extent the active womens' occupations involve them more in the business affairs and decisions of the community, the active women will be more supportive of growth than the comparison group of neighbor women.

3. That within the active women group, those with higher education and income levels will be less supportive of growth and more supportive of environmental programs than those with lower education and income levels.

4. That within the active women group, those from the more urbanized areas will be more supportive of environmental protection and pollution control programs and less supportive of growth than those from rural areas.

Comparisons of Attitudes of Male Influentials and Active Women Towards Growth

The majority of both the male influentials and active women thought there was some urgency in relation to environmental problems in their area but approximately 40 percent of both the males and the females could see no urgency at all concerning environmental problems. This 40 percent may possibly perceive some threat to their occupational roles from environmental protection policies. A significant percent of both groups are in business as managers and proprietors. Slightly more of the men than the women believed the problems to be very urgent but overall the attitudes of the males and females appear to be very similar regarding their attitude towards the urgency of environmental problems.

When the subsample of the influential males was compared to the females, the results were nearly identical. See Table 24.

When asked whether they would favor a new industrial plant's opening in their community, if it would bring not only many new jobs but also substantial air and water pollution, approximately one-fourth of both the men and women would favor the plant anyhow. However, almost 74 percent of the men would oppose the plant in such circumstances. Thirty-five percent of the women opposed the plant, while approximately 37 percent of the women said it would depend on the ratio of jobs to the amount of pollution. The men were not given the "depends" category in their survey. Perhaps if the "depends" category had either been available to both groups or eliminated from the one survey, the results would have been almost identical for both men and women. When the "oppose" and "depends" categories of the women are added, the 71.7 total is very close to the 74 percent of the men who chose the "oppose" category. Results of the comparison of the subsample of males to females show that a few more of the men than the women would favor a plant regardless of accompanying pollution. See Table 24.

TABLE 24

COMPARISONS OF ATTITUDES OF MALES AND FEMALES TOWARD GROWTH

A. Could you tell me how urgent you feel the environmental problems of your community and its surrounding area are? Would you say that environmental problems around here are not at all urgent, fairly urgent, or very urgent?

	Influential Males (N=230)	Active Women (N=60)	Influential Males in Chippewa and Eau Claire Counties (N=68)
Not at all urgent	39.39	41.7	43.
Fairly urgent	46.32	46.7	47.
Very urgent	14.29	10.0	10.
Don't know & no response	0	1.7	0
Total	100.00	100.1*	100.

B. Thinking about your own community, if a company wanted to set up a new plant nearby creating many new well-paying jobs, would you favor or oppose this new plant if it would bring a substantial increase in air and water pollution?

	Influential Males (N=230)	Active Women (N=60)	Influential Males in Chippewa and Eau Claire Counties (N=68)
Favor	24.68	25.0	29.
Oppose	73.59	35.0	69.
Depends	0	36.7	0
Don't know & no response	1.30	3.3	1.
Total	99.57*	100.0	99.*

* Percentages were rounded

The male and female groups were asked their opinions regarding the job local government has done in the planning and zoning of land use as well as which specific programs and services they would like supported by their taxes. Approximately 14 percent of both the males and females thought that local government had done an excellent job in relation to planning and zoning of land use. However, more than three times as many of the men as the women think local government has done a poor job on these matters. Close to half the women thought the government was doing a fair job with planning and zoning while 31 percent of the men used this rating. Overall the women appear to be somewhat less favorable than the men in their rating of the job their local government has done on these matters despite the more numerous poor ratings given by the men. The comparison of the subsample of men with the women shows the same direction in a somewhat more pronounced manner. See Table 25.

Respondents were asked to state whether they thought specific programs and services should be expanded, kept as is, or cut back. Among these programs and services were: roads and highway construction, public promotion of industry, public promotion of tourism, water pollution control programs, soil, forest, and water conservation programs, and public parks. The men were considerably more supportive of both highway construction and public parks than the women. When it came to public promotion of industry, close to 60 percent of both the men and women believed it should be expanded. The men were somewhat more supportive of public promotion of tourism than the women. Influential men and

TABLE 25

COMPARISONS OF ATTITUDES OF MALES AND FEMALES TOWARDS LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE ON LAND USE PLANNING

A. How would you rate the job that local government has done in the planning and zoning of land use?

	Influential Males (N=230)	Active Women (N=60)	Influential Males in Chippewa and Eau Claire Counties (N=68)
Poor	10.39	3.3	3.
Fair	31.60	48	31.
Good	42.86	30.0	50.
Excellent	14.72	13.3	16.
Don't know	0	5.	0
Total	99.57*	99.9*	100.

* Percentages were rounded

women were not far apart in their thinking on support of water pollution programs but more men than women saw a need for expansion of soil, forest, and water conservation programs. See Table 26.

In general, the women appeared to be less supportive of expansion of any program than the men with the exception of promotion of industry. Note should be taken of the fact that more women than men indicated they were not informed or failed to offer a response. This is especially true in relation to soil, forest, and water conservation and less so in the case of promotion of industry. The difference may be due to interview techniques, or that women feel less threatened than men in indicating they lack information, or they may actually have less information on these programs than men.

Comparisons Within the Active Women's Group on Attitudes Towards Growth by Place of Residence, Educational Level and Income Level

Because little investigation has been done regarding the attitudes of active women towards such issues as growth and environmental protection, the data were analyzed further. Possible impact of the variables, place of residence, and educational and income levels, were investigated in relation to attitudes towards growth in the women's counties, their communities, and policies of local, county and state governments. Place of residence was categorized only on an urban-rural dimension. Active women residing in the two largest municipalities in the sample--Eau Claire and Chippewa Falls--were categorized as urban, while all others were considered to be residing in rural areas.

TABLE 26

COMPARISONS OF ATTITUDES OF INFLUENTIAL MALES AND FEMALES TOWARD EXPANSION OF SERVICES AND PROGRAMS RELATED TO GROWTH AND CONSERVATION

(M=Males, Total Sample N=230)
(F=Females, Total Sample N=60)
(M_1=Subsample of Matching Males in Chippewa and Eau Claire Counties N=68)

Do you think these particular programs should be expanded, kept the same, or cut back?

	Roads & Highways			Promotion of Industry			Promotion of Tourism			Water Pollution Control			Soil, Forest Water Conservation			Public Parks		
	M	F	M_1	M	F	M_1	M	F	M_1	M	F	M_1	M	F	M_1	M	F	M_1
Expanded	32.03	11.7	35	58.44	60.0	63	49.57	40.0	47	47.62	43.3	43	39.83	23.3	46	41.99	20.0	37
Kept As Is	63.64	78.3	62	39.83	28.3	35	46.96	51.7	49	49.35	53.3	53	55.84	60.0	51	57.14	78.3	63
Cut Back	3.46	3.3	0	1.73	5.0	1	3.04	0	3	2.16	1.7	4	1.73	1.7	0	.87	1.7	0
Not Sure	.43	5.0	1	0	5.0	0	.43	3.3	0	.87	0	0	2.60	3.3	3	0	0	0
Not Informed & No Response	.43	1.7	1	0	1.7	0	0	5.0	0	0	1.7	0	0	11.7	0	0	0	0
Total	99.99*	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

* Percentages were rounded

Place of Residence and Support of Growth - More rural women than urban women thought the rate of growth was too slow in their counties while the majority of urban women thought growth in their counties was about right. Three percent of the urban women thought growth was occurring too rapidly while no rural women thought this was the case.

When it came to growth in their own communities as opposed to counties, the attitudes were consistent with the above. Once again, more rural women than urban women thought growth was too slow, more urban than rural women thought growth rate was about right, and three percent of the urban women thought growth was too fast in their communities.

Almost identical numbers of both urban and rural women thought their local government should encourage industrial and economic growth. Further, over 90 percent of both groups agreed on this matter. The same attitude held in relation to county government policies on growth but a change occurred in relation to state government policies. In this instance, 100 percent of the urban women thought state government should encourage industrial development but in contrast, 83 percent of the rural women thought this to be the best policy. In conclusion, the vast majority of the active women were supportive of industrial growth. The rural women were somewhat more supportive of growth than the urban women but slightly less supportive of having government on any level become involved in the process of encouraging growth.

Educational Level and Support of Growth - Two educational categories were used in the analysis--those with high school education and those with some college regardless of whether the college education consisted of one year of college or one or more college degrees. Within the group of women who believed growth was too slow in the county, 61 percent were college educated. When a between comparison of the two educational categories was made, slightly more of the high school educated women believed the county growth rate to be about right. In relation to growth in their own communities, some change in the pattern did occur. Fifty percent of the women with college level education believe the growth rate to be about right, while 40 percent of the women with high school education think this is the case. In sum, there appears to be some tendency for the college educated to want growth in their counties but not necessarily in their own communities.

Ninety or more percent of both the women with high school education and those with college level thought government on all levels should encourage industrial growth. There was 100 percent agreement among the women with high school level education; all believed that local government should follow this policy.

Income Level and Support of Growth - Because the overall sample of influential women had higher than the average per household income in the state, two categories were utilized--those with household incomes up to $19,999 and those with $20,000 to $40,000+. Approximately one-half the total sample fell into each of the above brackets. The majority of

women in both income brackets thought the county growth rate to be about right. However, slightly more of those in the lower income bracket thought the county growth rate to be too slow. The same pattern pertained in relation to attitudes toward growth rates in their own communities. Those in the lower income bracket were again more supportive of having local and county governments encourage industrial growth while at the state level slightly more of the women in the higher bracket thought government should encourage industry.

Jobs versus Pollution - When the women were confronted with a choice between pollution versus more income and jobs for their communities, almost three times as many of the rural women would favor the additional income and jobs as the urban women regardless of increased air and water pollution. Thirty-one percent of the women with high school level education, in contrast to 21 percent of those with college, would favor industrialization even though it meant more pollution. Almost three times as many of the women in the income bracket up to $20,000 would favor industrialization with accompanying pollution if it meant more well paying jobs than those women in the $20,000 to $40,000+ bracket. In short, those living in rural areas, as well as those with lower or educational and income levels, appear more supportive of new jobs even at the expense of additional air and water pollution.

Urgency of Environment Problems - Not surprisingly, 53.3 percent of the rural women in contrast to 30 percent of the urban women felt

environmental problems were not urgent. But 46 percent of both the urban and rural women believed them to be fairly urgent while 20 percent of the urban women believed environmental problems to be very urgent. Educational level appeared to have an impact on the women's attitudes towards the urgency of environmental problems. More than half the women with college education believed the problems to be fairly urgent and 15.7 percent thought them to be very urgent. In contrast, 36.3 percent of those with high school education thought these problems to be fairly urgent, none thought the problems were "very urgent" and 63.6 percent thought them not urgent. More of the women in the higher income bracket saw greater urgency in environmental problems. Fifty-three and one-half percent of those in the higher bracket thought the problems were fairly urgent while 38.7 of those in the lower bracket had the same view.

As might be expected from the attitudes on jobs versus additional pollution, the same patterns held in relation to attitudes towards the urgency of environmental problems. Those living in rural areas and those with lower education and income levels saw less urgency on environmental problems.

Zoning Policies - Rural women appeared to have stronger opinions about rating the local government's planning and zoning of land. Almost seven percent of the rural women felt it was doing a poor job but 20 percent thought local government was doing an excellent job. In contrast none of the urban women gave local government a poor rating on their zoning policies and only 6.6 percent of them gave an excellent rating. The largest group of rural women rated local government zoning policies

as fair, while the largest group of urban women rated them good. More of those women with college level education appeared to believe that local government was doing a good or excellent job with zoning than did those women with a high school level education. Fifty-two and six-tenths percent of those with college gave a good or excellent rating, while 27.2 of those with high school level education gave the same ratings. Majority of those with high school gave local government a fair rating. Similar patterns followed in the income levels. In conclusion, those in the higher income and education categories gave higher ratings to local government on its zoning than did those in the lower categories. The rural women appeared to be slightly more critical of zoning policies than the urban women.

Comparisons Between the Attitudes of Active Women and Next-Door Comparison Women in the Community

The active women were more supportive of community growth than were the comparison neighbor women. One-half of the active women believed growth in the community to be too slow while only 39 percent of the comparison women believed this to be the case. Of the comparison women, 49 percent thought growth rates to be about right in contrast to 46 percent of the actives. Only one percent of the actives thought community growth to be too fast but four percent of the comparison group thought this.

The active women saw environmental problems as being less urgent than did the comparison women. Environmental problems were viewed as

urgent by 68 percent of the comparison women while only 56 percent of the active women thought this to be so.

A less critical stance towards local government's planning and zoning efforts was taken by the active women. Only three percent of the actives rated local planning and zoning efforts as poor while 12 percent of the comparison women did so. In addition, 13 percent of the actives thought such efforts were excellent. In contrast, only four percent of the comparison women gave an excellent rating to local planning and zoning efforts.

In summary, the active women were more supportive of growth, saw environmental problems as less urgent, and were less critical of local government's planning and zoning efforts than the comparison women in the community. See Table 27.

TABLE 27

COMPARISONS OF ATTITUDES OF ACTIVE AND COMPARISON WOMEN ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

(Percentages)

A. How do you feel about the rate of economic growth in this community?

	Active Females (N=60)	Comparison Women (N=91)
Too Slow	50.00	39.56
About Right	46.67	49.45
Too Fast	1.67	4.40
Don't Know	1.67	6.59

B. Could you tell me how urgent you feel the environment problems of your community and its surrounding area are?

	Active Females	Comparison Women
Not at all Urgent	41.67	25.27
Fairly Urgent	46.67	58.24
Very Urgent	10.00	9.89
Don't Know	1.67	6.59

C. How would you rate the job that local government has done in the planning and zoning of land use?

	Active Females	Comparison Women
Excellent	13.33	4.40
Good	30.00	31.87
Fair	48.33	40.66
Poor	3.33	12.09
Don't Know	5.00	10.99

Discussion and Conclusions

Attitudes of influential males and active women towards growth and environmental policies appear to be similar although, in general, the women appeared to be less supportive of expansion of any governmental program with the exception of promotion of industry. They were far less supportive of highway construction and public parks than were the men. Thus, the first hypothesis appears to be somewhat, but not entirely supported. It should be noted that with only three exceptions, the husbands of the 60 female leaders were not identified as being a part of the power structure studied by Johnson. In other words, these women were not merely reflecting the attitudes of husbands powerful in the communities.

The active women were less supportive of environmental control programs and more supportive of growth than were the comparison women in the community. The second hypothesis was supported. The comparison group of women could be expected to be environmentally conscious given the upper class neighborhoods in which they are residing. But, because they are less involved in the community than the active women, they may possibly be less informed about community problems and thus, less supportive of growth than the active women.

Active women with higher education and income levels were less supportive of growth and more supportive of environmental programs than those with lower education and income levels. The third hypothesis was supported. The trade-off balance in attitudes between growth with possible accompanying pollution versus environmental protection appears

to tip in favor of the environment only when the personal economic security of the individual is at a high level. The overall educational and income levels of the sample of active women was above the state averages and yet, even within this sample of elites, the usual trends became apparent.

Women from urbanized areas were more supportive of environmental protection and pollution control programs than rural women and thus the fourth hypothesis was supported. The urban women possibly have more firsthand evidence of the impact of growth and pollution than do those living in rural areas. In addition, the usual variables of income and education are probably confounding this finding since the rural women tend to be somewhat lower on both variables within the active women sample.

EAU CLAIRE
POLICE

Nancy Anderson

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

With the growth of the women's movement, the question of women's roles and the position of women in the power structure has gained considerable attention. Indeed the broad aims of the women's movement have been to identify the inequities that exist in these areas; to spread an awareness of their existence; and to create strategies to attempt to eliminate them. As women already involved in community affairs, and, presumably in a position to represent the interests of women as a political group, "active" women are of special interest to the women's movement. Their attitudes toward the movement are important both as an indication of their orientation toward women's roles and of their conception of the position of women in the social structure. They may also serve as a measure of the impact the women's movement has had as a social movement. In this section, the attitudes of the active women will be compared with those of the comparison women on support of the women's liberation movement.

Literature Review

With respect to this particular population and the rural community setting from which it was drawn, this topic does not appear to have been investigated. The closest approximation of an analysis of this topic can be found in a brief section of Jeane Kirkpatrick's book Political Woman[30] where women politically active at the state level were studied.

This book is of particular interest to this study as the population dealt with, female state legislators, seems to have emerged from a pool of women similar to those considered here. Characteristics found among these women included a small town background, geographic stability, middle class status, community active parents, higher education and community service[31]--characteristics we would also expect to be typical of a sample of women active in the community at the local level (Komarovsky, 1946; Slater, 1960).

Among the 46 female legislators Kirkpatrick studied, 60 percent expressed opposition to the women's movement. The views she encountered most frequently from these women were: "1) that women's liberation has an inaccurate conception of women's situation and problems, that is, that women are not denied freedom or self-fulfillment by either men or society at large, 2) that women's liberation is hostile to marriage and the family, 3) that women's liberation is extremist in its criticisms and proposals, 4) that women's liberation is partisan and sectarian, favoring the liberal wing of the democratic party, 5) that women's liberation makes it harder for women to be elected to office because women following nontraditional roles are lumped together with the extreme element of the women's movement, and finally, 6) that the Equal Rights Amendment is a true 'women's issue.'"[32]

Besides the Kirkpatrick book, two other sets of literature relate to this topic, but even more indirectly. These are the research on women influentials and the studies on women's attitudes toward the women's movement (WLM). Of the two major studies done on women

Influentials, Anna Brown's, "A Study of Women Influentials in Three Michigan Communities"[33] and Carol Wolff's, "The Role of Women in the Structure of 'Society' in a Midwestern Industrial Community,"[34] neither addresses this subject. The various studies conducted on women's attitudes toward the women's movement (Arnott, 1973, Joesting, 1971, Tavris, 1971 & 73, and The Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, 1972), however, reveal a number of factors that may be related to support of the women's movement.

Attitudes Toward the WLM. Catherine Arnott, as described in her article "Feminists and Anti-Feminists as 'True Believers'",[35] sampled 20 feminists from N.O.W. (National Organization of Women) and 41 anti-feminists in Fascinating Womenhood classes to test Eric Hoffer's claim in The True Believers that proponents of opposing ideologies are from the same personality pool. The feminists, or women supportive of the women's movement, were found to be significantly younger, married more often to professionals, more educated, and less religious than the anti-feminists. She also found that the feminists had fewer children, were more committed to a career at some point in their lives, and saw personal growth and a sense of achievement as more important to themselves than did the anti-feminists.

An earlier study similar in nature to the Arnott study was conducted by Joan Joesting, "Comparison of Women's Liberation Members with their Nonmember Peers."[36] Looking at 25 women's liberation members and 25 non-members using the Torrence Life Experience Inventory, she found that

women's liberation members had significantly higher mean scores on achievement for excellence, creativity, elaboration, originality and risk-taking. They also received more honors outside the classroom and had higher grade averages than their nonmember peers--although these did not reach statistical significance.

On women's attitudes toward the women's movement, the most extensive study has been done by Carol Tavris using Psychology Today readers. This study is reported in an article entitled "Who Likes Women's Liberation--And Why?"[37] and in Tavris' dissertation "The Unliberated Liberals."[38] In a sample of 890 men and 660 women Tavris found a number of factors that contribute to support of the women's movement. For both males and females, political radicalism, religious liberalism, and the perception of sex differences as purely cultural rather than genetic were highly significant factors in determining support. For women, experience with job discrimination, unhappiness with the division of labor in their marriage, and higher education were also important factors positively associated with support.

Other significant findings were that married and cohabiting women were the most supportive of the women's movement, while single women were most opposed, and that having children and being employed also increased support for the women's movement. With respect to age, there was a slight, but not significant, trend for older women to be somewhat more supportive of the women's movement than younger women.

Finally, the most broad-based study of women's attitudes toward the women's movement is the Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll.[39]

Three thousand women stratified by income, education, regional and local residential status, age and other variables were asked whether they favored or were opposed to most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society. Forty-eight percent of the women sampled were in favor and 36 percent opposed. The strongest support for upgrading women's role in society came from single women, divorced or separated women, black women, college-educated women and women under thirty. In terms of the effectiveness of the different organizations trying to change women's status, 43 percent of the women felt that either "most" or "some" of the organizations were helping the cause of women. The majority of women, however, were not convinced that women have found productive organizational channels.[40]

With respect to the efforts of "women's liberation groups" per se, the poll found about half of the women to be unsympathetic. Support for these groups was found largely among "single, black and young women; college-educated women, those who live in the cities, and the poor."[41] According to the pollsters, these results seem to indicate that even though there is growing support for changes in women's status in society, the term "women's liberation" has a negative connotation for many women.

In summary, a number of factors have been identified, some contradictory, that may contribute to support of the women's movement. Demographically--marital status, presence of children, age, urban residence, higher education, and marriage to professionals--all seem to exert some influence. Attitudinally--religious liberalism, political radicalism, the perception of sex differences as cultural rather than biological,

and a desire for personal growth and a sense of achievement--have all been related to support. Working status, unhappiness with the division of domestic labor, and experience with job discrimination have also been found to be significant factors. And a relationship has been suggested between support of the women's movement and higher grade averages among college women.

Since there has been no research on the issue of support of the women's movement by community active women, this paper will attempt to study the relationship between support of the women's movement, activity, and fourteen other demographic, background, and role variables: age, marital status, presence of children, number of children, family income, respondent's employment status, respondent's census category, husband's census category, working mother, residential status, respondent's educational level, respondent's high school class rank, mother's educational level, and father's educational level.

Hypotheses

The Null Hypotheses. This paper will address two broad issues in relation to support of the women's movement and the active and the comparison samples selected: one, whether or not there is any difference in support between a group of "active" women and a group of their female next-door-neighbors, and two, what factors might be associated with support among these groups. The two null hypotheses to be tested are therefore:

H_1: There will be no significant difference between the active women and the comparison women on support of the WLM.

H_2: There will be no significant differences between the active and comparison women on support of the WLM that relate to the fourteen selected demographic, background, and role variables.

Specific Variables and Coding Categories

The dependent variable to be used in this study, support of the women's movement, was assessed by means of the question: "Are you supportive of the women's liberation movement?" Answers to this question were categorized as either "yes," "no," or "depends" as they were structured into the original questionnaire. The fourteen independent variables to be related to support of the movement and the categories they were broken into are as follows:

1. Age
   A. 0 - 39 years
   B. 40 and over

2. Marital Status
   A. Married
   B. Not married

3. Presence of Children
   A. Yes
   B. No

4. Number of Children
   A. 0 - 2
   B. 2 and over

5. Family Income
   A. 0 - $14,999
   B. $15,000 and over

6. Respondent's Employment Status
   A. Employed
   B. Not employed

7. Respondent's Census Category[42]
   A. Category 1
      1) not in the civilian labor force
      2) laborers, except farm or mining
      3) farm laborers and foremen
      4) service workers, including private household
      5) operatives and kindred workers
      6) craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers
      7) sales workers

   B. Category 2
      1) clerical and kindred workers
      2) farmers and farm managers

   C. Category 3
      1) managers, officials and proprietors, except farm
      2) professional, technical and kindred workers

8. Husband's Census Category
   A. (Categories 1 - 3 same as above.)

9. Working Mother
   A. Mother worked outside home
   B. Mother did not work outside home

10. Residential Status
    A. Urban
    B. Rural

11. Respondent's Educational Level
    A. High school or vocational education
    B. Some college education or college degree

12. Respondent's High School Class Rank
    A. Top quarter of graduating class
    B. Lower three-quarters of class

13. Mother's Educational Level
    A. High school or vocational education
    B. Some college education or college degree

14. Father's Educational Level
    A. High school or vocational education
    B. Some college education or college degree

Since the sample size of this study is relatively small, the fewest possible categories were chosen for each variable. The categories for

age and family income were set high as the active women were expected to be older (Kirkpatrick, 1974) and at higher income levels (Kirkpatrick, 1974; Komarovsky, 1946) than the average population, and an attempt was made to match the comparison group on these variables. A conservative breakdown was maintained for education in order to preserve comparability with the mother's and father's educational levels.

Statistical Analysis

To compare the differences or associations between and within the active and comparison groups on these variables and support of the women's movement, three different types of statistical tests were used where appropriate: the t-test, chi-square tests, and Pearson Product Moment Correlations.

Results

Among the interviews obtained from the active and comparison women, two of the interviews from the active women and three from the comparison women were incomplete. Either conflicting appointments or responsibilities did not allow these respondents sufficient time to finish the questionnaire. Consequently, these interviews were not included in the data to be analyzed. The sample size for this section, then, is 58 active women and 88 comparison women rather than 60 active and 91 comparison women. The total sample is 146 women.

Hypothesis 1

In relation to the first hypothesis "there will be no significant

difference between the active women and the comparison women on support of the women's liberation movement," the chi-square test run between the two samples on this variable showed no significant difference. The active women were not any more or less supportive of the women's movement than the comparison group. (See Table 28.) Therefore, the first null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Slightly more of the active women (38.3%) were supportive of the WLM than the comparison group (36.3%). Twenty-three percent of the active women did not support the women's movement compared with 27.5% of the comparison women, and 33% of both groups expressed ambivalence.

TABLE 28

ACTIVE AND COMPARISON GROUPS AND SUPPORT OF THE WLM
(N=146)

	Active (N=58)	Comparison (N=88)
Yes	23	33
No	14	25
Depends	21	30
Total	58	88

(Chi-square (3) = .12, $p < .99$)

Hypothesis 2

Addressing the second hypothesis, "there will be no significant differences between the active and comparison women on support of the WLM that relate to the fourteen selected demographic, background, and role

variables," two-tailed t-tests and chi-square tests were run between the two groups on the fourteen variables and within the two groups on these variables by support of the WLM. (See Table 29 and Table 30.) The results are as follows:

Active and Comparison Groups. No significant differences were found between the active and comparison groups on age, marital status, presence of children and number of children, nor were any of these variables related to support of the WLM within the two groups. Although there were significant differences between the active and comparison women on family income, respondent's census category, class rank, and working mothers, these variables were also not related to support of the women's movement within the active and comparison samples.

In terms of residential status (urban-rural) and mother's and father's educational level, there were no significant differences between the two groups, but there were significant differences within the groups on support of the WLM. For residential status and support, there was a significant difference within the active group (chi-square (2) = 13.40, $p < .001$) and there was also a difference approaching significance within the comparison group (chi-square (2) = 5.18, $p < .08$). In both cases the urban women were more supportive. Higher parental education was also associated with support of the women's movement, but only for the active women. There was a significant difference in father's educational level (chi-square (2) = 5.90, $p < .05$) and support of the WLM within the active group, and a difference approaching significance in the mother's educational level (chi-square (2) = 5.47, $p < .07$) within this group.

TABLE 29

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ACTIVE AND COMPARISON GROUPS

Variable	Chi-square	t	df	p
1) Age				n.s.
2) Marital Status				n.s.
3) Presence of Children				n.s.
4) Number of Children				n.s.
5) Family Income		3.66	141*	$p < .0003$
6) Respondent's Employment Status	9.03		1	$p < .003$
7) Respondent's Census Category	36.68		3	$p < .0001$
8) Husband's Census Category	22.40		3	$p < .0001$
9) Working Mother	6.24		1	$p < .01$
10) Residential Status (Urban/Rural)				n.s.
11) Respondent's Educational Level	5.16		1	$p < .02$
12) Respondent's High School Class Rank	22.09		2	$p < .0001$
13) Mother's Educational Level				n.s.
14) Father's Educational Level				n.s.

*Four women were unwilling to reveal their family income, so the degrees of freedom was 141 rather than 145 for this variable.

TABLE 30

VARIABLES x SUPPORT OF THE WLM WITHIN THE ACTIVE AND COMPARISON GROUPS AND ACROSS ALL RESPONDENTS

Variable	Within the Active Group			Within the Comparison Group			Across All Respondents		
	Chi-square	df	p	Chi-square	df	p	Chi-square	df	p
1) Age			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
2) Marital Status			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
3) Presence of Children			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
4) Number of Children			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
5) Family Income			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
6) Respondent's Employment Status	6.13	1	$p < .01$			n.s.			n.s.
7) Respondent's Census Category			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
8) Husband's Census Category			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
9) Working Mother			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
10) Residential Status (Urban/Rural)	13.40	2	$p < .001$	5.18	2	$p < .08$*	4.68	1	$p < .03$
11) Respondent's Educational Level	9.53	2	$p < .008$	6.34	2	$p < .04$	15.02	2	$p < .0005$
12) Respondent's High School Class Rank			n.s.			n.s.			n.s.
13) Mother's Educational Level	5.47	2	$p < .07$*			n.s.	6.90	2	$p < .03$
14) Father's Educational Level	5.90	2	$p < .05$			n.s.			n.s.

*Approaching significance.

Active women whose parents had some college education or a college degree were more supportive than those whose parents had only high school or vocational school.

Finally, on respondent's work status and educational level, significant differences were found both between the active and comparison groups and within the two groups on support of the WLM. In the active group there was a significant difference on employment status and support of the WLM (Chi-square (1) = 6.13, $p < .01$) with the non-employed women more supportive than those who were employed. This was not the case in the comparison group. With educational level, on the other hand, there was a significant difference within the active sample on education and support (Chi-square (2) = 9.53, $p < .008$) and within the comparison sample (Chi-square (2) = 6.34, $p < .04$) with those with some kind of college education more supportive. Education was a more powerful indicator of support for the WLM for the active women than for the comparison women.

All Respondents. Across all 146 respondents, significant differences were found in relation to support of the WLM by educational level (Chi-square (2) = 15.02, $p < .0005$), residential status (Chi-square (1) = 4.68, $p < .03$), and mother's educational level (Chi-square (2) = 6.90, $p < .03$). Respondents with some kind of college education; whose mothers also had some college education, and who were living in a more urban area, were more likely to be supportive of the WLM. No significant differences were found across all respondents by

age, marital status, presence or number of children, family income level, respondent's employment status, the census categories of either the respondent or her husband, mother's work status, high school class rank, or father's educational level.

Conclusions. A higher education was strongly associated with support of the women's movement for the respondents regardless of activity. So was urban residential status--but to a lesser degree. A non-employed status and higher parental education levels were also associated with support of the women's movement, but in some interaction with activity.

In light of these findings, the second null hypothesis "there will be no significant differences between the active and comparison women on support of the WLM that relate to the fourteen selected demographic, background, and role variables" must be rejected.

Discussion

The Active Women

One outstanding difference between the active and comparison women was socioeconomic standing. The active women were significantly higher on all of the basic socioeconomic indicators such as education, family income and respondent and husband census categories. These findings are consistent with the results of studies on community influentials, politically active men and women, and on women in voluntary associations (Aiken and Mott, 1970; Gruberg, 1968; Constantini and Craik, 1972; Kirkpatrick, 1974; Kyle, 1974; Komarovsky, 1946; and Slater, 1960.)

Another major difference between the active and comparison women was that significantly more of the active women were employed--again largely in professional and managerial positions. Actually, both of these findings might have been anticipated as a higher socioeconomic level and a professional position would seem likely to enhance community participation through the prestige, ties, and opportunity for involvement they afford.

It is also important to note the similarities between the two groups. On family role variables, for instance, they were especially alike. The active women were married as often as the comparison women, were as likely to have children, and actually had almost as many children as the comparison women. Even though the active women were more involved in their communities through work, political participation, or other organizational

activities, they managed to maintain the more traditional aspects of the female role in their lives. In this way, they seemed to be following a dual role model. These findings are in line with Kirkpatrick's findings in Political Woman[43] on female state legislators.

Support of the WLM

Perhaps the most important finding of this study is that the active women were no different from the comparison group on their level of support for the women's movement. Slightly less than 40 percent of both the active and comparison groups were supportive of the movement. The majority, nearly 60 percent of both groups, were either ambivalent or non-supportive. As Eau Claire and Chippewa counties are primarily rural areas where one would expect more conservative attitudes toward such issues, this relatively low level of support is not particularly surprising, however.

Compared to the national figures on the question, "Do you favor or are you opposed to most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?" in the Virginia Slims Poll,[44] the women in this study initially seem to be somewhat conservative. As strengthening and changing the status of women is the overriding goal of the women's movement, this item is roughly comparable to the question in the current study "Are you supportive of the women's movement?" Looking at the overall responses to the two items by the stratified categories of the Slims' study, the percentage of active and comparison women supportive of the women's movement was about 10 percent lower than the women in the various

categories in the Slims' study favorable to efforts to change the status of women. Yet, taking into consideration the stigma associated with asking directly about support for the WLM, it would appear the women in this study were relatively close in their attitudes on this issue to those in the national sample with comparable demographic characteristics.

What is intriguing about the level of support for the women's movement indicated by both the active and comparison samples was the amount of ambivalence expressed. Thirty-three percent of both groups responded with "depends" in terms of their support. Apparently these women felt supportive of some aspects of the women's movement, but not of others. These ambivalent responses combined with the responses indicating support together may constitute evidence that the women's movement has made some sort of impact on the majority of the women interviewed. Around 70 percent of the women in both groups were either supportive of the movement or uncertain as to where they stood on the issue.

Although it is tempting to go further and interpret the ambivalence of the two groups of women as a sign they are in some sort of transitional phase with respect to the women's movement, this may not necessarily be the case. Judging from open-ended comments from the "active" women on the women's movement, it is not demands for equal rights and opportunities they find disagreeable, but rather the threat to established sex roles and the traditional family structure the women's movement seems to conjure up. This group seems comfortable with the dual role model they follow and unwilling to break down sex roles any further.

It is perhaps that aspect of the women's movement pressing for a broader redefinition of the role of the sexes that is responsible for the ambivalence of these women. This is an issue that strikes at the heart of fundamental attitudes and values about marriage and the family, and as such, attitudes associated with it are likely to remain resistant to change.

Variables Related to Support Across All Respondents. Three of the fourteen demographic, background, and role variables were associated with support of the women's movement across all respondents: respondent's educational level, residential status, and mother's educational level. On the whole, the more educated respondents, urban respondents, and respondents with mothers with higher educations were more likely to be supportive.

Of these three factors, only respondent education was associated with support within each of the samples and across all respondents using a .05 significance criterion. Respondent educational level, therefore, was the factor most unequivocally related to support in this study. Interestingly, this association was stronger among the active women than the comparison women.

Urban residential status was also associated with support within both groups and across all respondents, but the difference within the comparison group on support by urban or rural status reached only the .08 level of significance, making this association weaker than the one with education.

Mother's educational level, on the other hand, was somewhat of a

statistical anomaly with no significant differences within the two groups, but a significant difference across all respondents. Although a difference approaching significance within the active group was found with active women whose mothers had higher educations more supportive, combining the samples to increase the n apparently added enough power to reach a statistically significant difference across respondents. This seems, however, to primarily reflect the difference found on this variable within the active group.

The findings relating higher respondent education to support confirm the results of the Arnott (1973), Tavris (1971), and Slims (1972) studies. The Slims (1972) and Tavris (1971) studies also found urban residential status to be related to support--but the findings on the mother's educational level and support stand alone.

On an intuitive level, neither the finding that higher education, be it on the part of the respondent or a parent of the respondent, nor the finding that urban residential status are related to support are particularly surprising. From an empirical standpoint, however, these findings are difficult to explain. Both education and urban status are, in a sense, umbrella variables which can encompass a number of other factors. What particular aspects of having a higher education or living in a more urbanized area might contribute to support of the women's movement cannot be specified with certainty without further investigation.

To speculate, nevertheless, one explanation for these findings may be that both higher education and urban status increase accessibility to

information in general--be it through instruction, printed material, or interpersonal contact--and therefore, also increase the probability of exposure to information or attitudes that would lead to support of the women's movement.

Although the argument that education alone has a liberalizing effect is appealing, no clear-cut evidence can be summoned to support it. In terms of urban status, equally unsupportable, but nonetheless interesting, is the idea that the women's movement may for some reason be more salient in an urban setting. It has been suggested, for instance, that the social isolation of well-educated women in suburbanized areas with diminishing responsibilities and little input into either major family or community decisions was a necessary ingredient for the development of the women's movement in this country. It is possible that rural women, historically less removed from the process of production in the sense that they have traditionally worked on the farm alongside the men, feel more equal to men in the various facets of their lives, and as a result, see less of a need for a social movement to establish sexual equality.

The finding that mother's educational level was related to support of the women's movement might also be explained in terms of the argument of accessibility to information--this time information filtered down within the family of the respondents.

Activity and Support

The finding that activity in the community did not dispose the active women to be any more or less supportive of the women's movement

leads to a number of interesting conclusions. First, combined with the low overall level of support, this indicates that the involvement of these women in their communities cannot be attributed to the fact that they are "women's libbers"--a conclusion those opposed to women's participation outside of the home have been quick to draw. But by the same token, however, this also means these women cannot be considered to be in the vanguard of the women's movement as a social movement.

In general, although the active women were performing in somewhat untraditional occupation and community roles, they appeared to hold relatively traditional attitudes concerning women's roles and support of the women's movement.

Since the active women selected in this study were more likely to be influential as women or to be leaders in their communities than the women not identified, these conclusions have far-reaching implications in terms of social policy. If this particular group is at all representative of their counterparts in the rest of the state, the fact that less than 40 percent of these women could endorse the women's movement does not bode well for the immediate future of the movement--at least in the rural areas. Although extrapolations that can be made from support of the women's movement to support for the Equal Rights Amendment are limited, these findings may shed some light on why the ERA was not passed in Wisconsin in 1973.

Specific Variables Related to Support. The variables that were related to support among the active women were employment status, residential status, respondent educational level, and parental educational

level. By the results of this study, the profile of an "active" woman who would be supportive of the women's movement would be a woman with some college education or more, who lives in an urbanized area, and who is not employed, but involved in either non-paid social or political activity, and whose parents also have some college education or better.

A striking difference between the active and comparison group is that, although higher respondent education and urban residential status were related to support within both groups, the association between these variables and support was stronger within the active group. Being active in addition to having a higher education or living in an urban area seemed to increase the probability of support. This finding again is compatible with the accessibility to information rationale insofar as community activity also leads to increased interpersonal contact and exposure to a wide range of material and ideas.

The finding that the women who were active on a non-paid basis were more supportive of the women's movement than those who had jobs is especially interesting, if not initially somewhat surprising. In fact, it contradicts Tavris' (1971) finding of higher support by employed women. Since volunteer work has in the past been considered a more acceptable way for a married woman to channel her energy outside the home than having a job, and the majority of the active women in the study were married and had children, this particular subgroup might have been considered to be more traditional.

However, in this sample this finding is readily explainable on the basis of socioeconomic status. We already know that the active women as a group are from higher socioeconomic levels than the general population, and this nonworking subgroup is likely to be an even more elite group. They may, for instance, have husbands with higher income levels and may themselves have higher education levels. A cursory review of the data on the income and education levels of this group confirms this. As higher education seems to be strongly related to support of the women's movement; this variable may again be the important factor here.

An additional explanation that may be offered for the greater support of the nonworking women involves the nature of volunteer work itself. As the hierarchy of formal, paid occupations forms the backbone of our social-political and economic organization, these positions bring more power, prestige, and financial reward. Neither the kind of prestige attached to financial reimbursement for a service rendered, nor the potential social influence that come with being a part of this structure are available to the volunteer worker.[45] To the energetic, highly-educated women in this group expending large amounts of time in what is likely to be both high-level and demanding volunteer work, this state of affairs may be a source of real frustration--regardless of their family economic status. This interpretation, of course, assumes these women perceive the reward discrepancy between the two types of work and object to it.

In terms of parental education, although the father's education was significant and the mother's education was only approaching significance at .07, both of these variables appear to be important to the active women's support of the women's movement. Given a larger n, for instance, one would expect mother's education to also reach significance. It is especially interesting that these results were not duplicated in the comparison group. This seems to indicate that higher parental education interacts with the later community activity of the active women to contribute to increased support.

Other Variables

In many ways the findings that were not statistically significant within either the active or comparison groups are as revealing as those that were. It is interesting to remark, for example, that support for the women's movement was not significantly influenced in this sample by family income or the census categories of the respondent's husbands. Middle class status by money alone, or marriage to professionals (Arnott, 1973), did not affect support. The census categories of the women who worked were also not important in relation to support. The lower support of the women's movement by professional women found by Tavris (1971) was not reflected in this study. Women in the professional and managerial categories were no more supportive than those in the clerical and kindred or blue collar categories.

Another variable on which one might have expected some differentiation, mother's working status, also showed no significant difference.

Women whose mothers provided a model of working outside the home were no more supportive of the women's movement than those whose did not. This finding is in agreement with the results of the Tavris (1971) study. Finally, high school class rank as an indication of intelligence also did not distinguish supporters from nonsupporters. According to Joan Joesting's (1971) findings, the opposite might have been expected.

Implications

As women who are "active" in their communities are more likely to be women influentials or leaders, they compose an important target group for those who wish to initiate either community or social change. Consequently, the findings of this study have ramifications for education, the women's movement, and general social policy. Knowing that the active women in a community are no more likely to be supportive of the women's movement than other women in the community is useful information to both tacticians of the women's movement and those attempting to institute changes involving male/female sex roles. This would include issues ranging from affirmative action, sex-role sterotyping in school textbooks, to the Equal Rights Amendment. Since these issues are closely bound with the women's movement, the findings of this study suggest active women cannot be assumed to be in the forefront of social change in these areas by means of their activity alone. As a result, they are a strategic group to identify for both educational programming and political lobbying.

As the women's liberation movement is the main social-structural force pressing for equalization of the status of the sexes, it is the strongest impetus for social change in this area. The finding that educational level was the main determinant of support for the women's movement among the women interviewed in this study reaffirms the important role played by education in changing the status of women in our society. Formal education, in fact, was found to be more important to support of the women's movement than active community experience.

Harriett Moyer

ADJUSTMENT TO FEMININE ROLES IN A GROUP OF WISCONSIN MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN

This paper analyzes the joint effect on middle-class women of convergence or dissonance in role socialization and actual role behavior. The effect is measured by stated level of happiness and the avowed importance of the role of housewife. Contrasting patterns of role socialization are used. They are termed "housewife" orientation and "housewife-plus" orientation. The behavior dealt with is remunerated work and level of activity in the community as contrasted with their absence.

The role of the housewife has historically been a central one in the lives of the majority of women throughout America and women have been expected to devote their full time to the performance of this role. So strong have the expectations and attitudes towards women's performance of this home-oriented role been that they have been called a "non-conscious ideology" (Bem, 1970). That is, it has been taken as axiomatic that the housewife role should hold sway.

The role of housewife, of course, includes the responsibilities of wife, mother and homemaker. It is presumed that virtually all American women have been at least minimally socialized to this role, and in this paper it is also assumed that the women in question expect to carry out, and have carried out, the required activities of the housewife.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that many women work outside the home and perform in other community roles in addition to carrying out that of the housewife. A host of issues are raised when women begin to direct part of their time, interest, and energy outside the home. Are women being

properly loyal to their children, home, and husband? Are they not neglecting their home and family if they devote less than full time to them? And, how about the possible threat to the self-esteem of the husband in the event the wife produces some notable achievement in her own right? Further, doesn't her work outside the home make his performance as a husband and father look less than adequate? The list of issues could be lengthened but these serve to illustrate some of the challenges, criticisms, and conflicts women have had to deal with if they perform in roles outside the home. In brief, if a woman accepts paid employment outside the home and/or becomes active in politics or some other side of community life, the implication is that she is committing herself to a relatively long term obligation of duties which may detract from her performance as housewife.

Theory. - Why American women and men have so consistently attempted to limit half of the societal population to domestic concerns when the society strongly needs more committed and actively participating members is a separate issue which will not be taken up here. But the persistence of such expectations in itself has led to a lack of consonance between them and the actual behavior of women working or performing in other ways outside the home. Such dissonance tends to lead to anxiety. It has been suggested that in terms of motivation, the conceptual status of anxiety is akin to the construct of dissonance (Totman, 1973). That is, both anxiety and dissonance press for changes which would make the individual more comfortable. Thus anxiety could be dissipated by changes in either role behavior or attitudes. In the event neither behavior nor attitudes are changed, anxiety would be expressed in terms of unpleasant, negative

feelings which could well be observed in the individual's sense of well-being or malaise.

Evidence exists that conflict and dissonance do indeed tend to arise when women perform in roles outside the home. A greater amount of anxiety has been found among working mothers whose family members have a "traditional" (home-oriented) attitude toward the mother working outside the home (White, 1972). Whereas being a housewife is compatible with a feminine identity, women tend to view femininity and achievement outside the home as incompatible (Horner & Walsh, 1973). They tend to view competitiveness, independence, intellectual achievement, and leadership--all traits essential to what I have called the housewife-plus role--as basically in conflict with femininity. Horner indicated that women who defy the traditionally prescribed sex role pay a price in anxiety. Women who are active in work or community projects might, therefore, be presumed to have higher anxiety levels and subsequently be less happy than those performing only in the traditional housewife role.

In contrast to this view, a substantial proportion of the American population supports the feminist movement, which strongly emphasizes the importance of extra-familial roles for women. Moreover, there is some research evidence suggesting that well educated women feel relative deprivation if they are confined to the housewife role (Arnott and Bengtson, 1970). Such women subsequently are often observed to choose housewife-plus roles which may include that of volunteer worker, student, or paid employee. Such facts suggest that extra-familial roles for women are of increasing prominence and legitimacy.

In sum, the literature suggests that women still must meet a strong set of expectations regarding their performance in the role of the housewife, but are also confronted with a new, more modern role. Conflict and anxiety can occur not only when their behavior does not meet the traditional role expectations but also when the role of housewife appears too limited to those individuals who take the housewife-plus role seriously.

Women working and active outside the home are in a position contrary to the role which suggests they should be full-time housewives. Women who are full-time housewives but are being deprived from using their abilities and skills, an aspect of the extra-familial role pattern, are also in a logically inconsistent position. Therefore, cognitive dissonance theory appears to be a suitable way of conceptualizing the problem and showing the results of the two types of conflict.

Relevant Literature on Cognitive Dissonance. - Recent work within the framework of cognitive dissonance has helped specify more clearly when dissonance will be aroused and when dissonance reduction will be undertaken. Cognitive dissonance is aroused when attitude discrepant behavior has potential or actual aversive consequences (Nel, Helmreich, & Aronson, 1969; Cooper & Worchel, 1970; Goethals & Cooper, 1972). American females have been socialized into assuming the role of housewife if they marry. Women who assume roles outside the home can not be sure that by doing so their performance in the role of housewife will not suffer. By using part of their time, interest, and energy for activities outside the home, the women may no longer be able to maintain expected standards of household management. Detrimental effects may be caused by giving less attention to

their husbands and children. On the other hand, women following the full-time housewife role may feel deprived by the loss of some of their skills and self-esteem.

Which course events may follow for particular women would seem to depend in great part upon the type of socialization experiences received. Two ideal patterns of socialization are hypothesized. In the first, a woman is the recipient of expectations and subject to influences from mother, father and other significant persons which stress the traditional housewife role. In the second, a woman is exposed to influences which place her in aspiration and hope for work or other community oriented roles which go distinctly beyond the confines of the traditional housewife role. It must be supposed that all women in this contemporary U.S.A. are exposed in some degree to both role patterns, so that empirically detectable internalizations in the form of role attitudes can be expected to form a continuous scale. However, those women exposed predominantly to one or the other pattern will be treated as "housewife" and "housewife-plus" socialized women respectively. It appears reasonable to assume that women performing in roles contrary to their socialization patterns will perceive that behavior as having potential or actual aversive consequences. But producing an aversive consequence through counter-attitudinal behavior is not enough (Brehm & Jones, 1970; Cooper, 1971). Personal responsibility is necessary and the consequence must be foreseeable at the time of commitment to the attitude-discrepant act. It seems logical to assume that women who choose to perform roles outside the home can foresee at least some possible adverse consequences to leaving the role of the full-time housewife. Further, well-educated women in the full-time housewife role would

presumably anticipate loses in skills and self-esteem. And, unless external circumstances mandated taking these roles, the women would have to assume personal responsibility for their behavior. The conditions for dissonance arousal appear to be met, then, in the situation where the woman has been strongly socialized into assuming the role of "housewife" but subsequently takes on additional roles in work and community activities outside the home. Likewise, the woman who has been most encouraged to assume the "housewife-plus" role but finds herself with no more than the role of housewife would also be in a dissonance-arousing situation.

However, counter-attitudinal behavior is particularly likely to lead to changes in attitude if the individual engages in action at a high level of involvement so that self-evaluation is at stake. If the action carries long term implications of commitment to continue the behavior there is additional impetus to change attitudes (Kelman and Warwick, 1973). The greater the dissonance, the greater is the probability that attempts will be made to reduce it. Reduction in dissonance can be achieved by appropriate changes in attitudes or by changes in behavior, but the goal is more consistent cognitions. Nevertheless, dissonance once created may persist; there is no guarantee that the person will be able to reduce or remove it. In fact, when strongly established beliefs or values are inconsistent with strongly habituated behavior continued major dissonance is possible. Given the strength of the values and the daily demands associated with the role of housewife, it seems unlikely that women would be able entirely to eliminate dissonance related to this role.

The timing of dissonance reduction has been investigated (Goethals

and Cooper, 1975). It was found that if subjects believed they would receive further information about the occurrence of possible unwanted consequences, they would show attitude change only after being informed that the unwanted consequences were to occur. Subjects may choose to live with the dissonance rather than change their attitudes. Thus, women may hold the role of full-time housewife to be very important but, at the same time, highly value the housewife-plus role. They also may not know for a number of years what the consequences will be to their families of their assuming roles outside the home. In brief, dissonance created by the possible conflict in roles and values may be a continuous factor in their lives. The implication from the above theoretical statements and empirical findings is that women may make some changes in their attitudes towards the role of housewife if they perform in roles contrary to their socialization patterns, but may not eliminate entirely the dissonance related to this conflict.

Dissonance, psychologically uncomfortable, acts to reduce the level of happiness. One might, therefore, anticipate different levels of happiness between two groups of differently socialized women when the women are performing in roles contrary to their socialization patterns. One might also anticipate some changes in their attitudes towards the role of the housewife which would tend to lower the dissonance.

Some Responses to Role Conflict. - Women use a variety of methods in dealing with conflicts between their roles in the home and community. Comments from female leaders who were not employed but were active in the community and socialized into the housewife-plus role illustrate this point. One in effect denied that she is a housewife by stating, "I have

never been a typical housewife; we eat most of our meals out." Another separated the roles of mother, wife and housekeeper when she stated, "mother and wife are very important but scrubbing floors comes low on my list." A third who has three children in the lower grades said, "Right now the role of housewife is important but in the future I will again be even more active in the community." A fourth made it clear that although the housewife role was important to her it was not sufficient to absorb her completely. She said, "It's very important but something needs to be added; it is not my whole life--that's why I'm as active as I am." Open resentment and ongoing conflict seem evident in the comment of another non-employed but housewife-plus oriented woman who stated, "Women need some breaks from homemaking the same as men do from their jobs. Men go off on hunting and fishing trips but see no need for similar breaks for the women and refuse even to consider providing such breaks." Running through their comments is a theme of adaptation to the family cycle. They regard the role of housewife as very important while the family is young. But as the children mature, these women, true to their socialization patterns, plan to become increasingly less home centered and more community centered in their activities.

In contrast, comments from women leaders who are both employed and active in the community show little evidence that they plan to become less community oriented and more home oriented in the future. Comments about the relationships between their jobs and homes illustrate their attitudes. One of these women stated, "I raised three children and was a housewife for years, but it wasn't very important to me; it certainly isn't a major concern, although I did it competently." (She is now a widow with grown

children.) Another stated, "Innate intelligence and organization make it possible." Still another commented, "It depends on the person but it can be done." A specialized RN said, "a person needs special stamina and ability." Another comment alluding to the possible requirement of special abilities by women attempting full-time work while managing a family was, "It can be done but I don't think it's easy." "Depends on the woman," added still another. In sum, the comments seem to indicate that the employed and active women think it is quite possible to combine successfully the roles of mother and housewife with full-time outside employment but that it may take special abilities and stamina to do so. It is also possible they are receiving significant help and support from family members and others important to them as evidenced by the one comment.

Hypotheses. - On the basis of the findings of other studies and the reasoning presented above, the following hypotheses are proposed.

Hypothesis 1: Within a sample of women, those socialized into the housewife-plus role will be happier if employed outside the home and active than those who are not employed outside the home nor active.

Hypothesis 2: Within a sample of women those socialized primarily into the housewife role will be happier if they are neither employed outside the home nor otherwise active than those who are employed and active.

Differences in the two socialization patterns, housewife on the one hand, housewife-plus on the other, should produce differences in women's attitudes toward the importance of the role of the full-time housewife. Those who are most strongly socialized to the housewife-plus orientation yet find themselves in the role of the full-time housewife, will be in a

dissonance arousing situation. Likewise, those who are most strongly socialized to the housewife pattern yet find themselves actually behaving in other work and community roles will be in a dissonance arousing situation. Therefore, there should be some evidence of attempts to lower the dissonance by re-evaluating the role of full-time housewife. Their evaluation can be measured by their support of the role of housewife. The following hypotheses are therefore proposed:

Hypothesis 3: Within a sample of women those socialized into the housewife-plus orientation and not employed outside the home or active will be more supportive of the role of housewife than others similarly socialized but employed and active.

Hypothesis 4: Within a sample of women those socialized primarily into the housewife role and employed and active will be less supportive of the role of the housewife than others similarly socialized but not employed or active.

Data and Methods. - The data on which this paper is based came from interviews with a sample of women drawn from all communities of populations numbering 500 or more in two Wisconsin counties. Eleven communities were involved. Their populations range from 574 to 43,662. Work involvement was measured by self report. Activity of women in the communities was measured by a combination of positional, reputational, and decision-making indicators. An independent list of responsible positions held by women in each community was prepared. The positions encompassed eight spheres of activity: business and industry, finance, politics, education, health and social services, religion, voluntary organizations, and the professions.

A score was developed for each woman on the basis of the number of times she was nominated by community influentials, the number of community issues in which she had decision-making input, and the number of social volunteer and/or occupational position(s) she held in the community. Those from a pool of 1,021 women receiving the top five percent of the resulting scores in each community were deemed "active." They number 60.

In addition to this group, the next-door-neighbors to the right and left of the 60 active women were interviewed. These women were, by definition, less active in their communities. They, too, were asked to indicate whether they had current remunerated employment. These women were originally contacted to constitute a control group. The next-door-neighbor technique was chosen primarily as a means of attempting to match them with the active women on socioeconomic status. The use of this technique resulted in a group of 91 neighbor women. There were 13 refusals, nine who were unable to participate, six households without eligible participants, and one case where the neighbor was between two active women. The total sample size, then, was 151.

The mean age of the women was 50 years. They averaged 13 years of completed education and their mean family income was $14,350. Eighty percent of the sample were married. The women had a mean of 2.7 children.

Structured questionnaires were utilized by a team of five persons who personally interviewed the 60 active women. These interviews averaged over two hours in duration. The neighbors were interviewed via telephone; information collected was based on an abridged version of the questionnaire administered previously to the active women. The telephone interviews were used rather than personal interviews because they cost substantially less.

From items related to the socialization patterns experienced by these 151 women, an index was formed evaluating the amount of encouragement they had received toward assumption of the housewife-plus role. The items on the index included whether the mother, father, husband, children, employer, and peers would, in the opinion of the woman, approve of her involvement in community projects, whether her mother had worked outside the home and whether her mother had been very active in community affairs. The last items involved whether the woman's most "significant other" encouraged her in work outside the home and participation in politics. Rationale for the choice of these items was based on learning theory as represented by Bandura and Mischel. The exact items on which the index was based were:

(1) Would the following people tend to approve, disapprove, or be indifferent to your involvement in community projects?

_____Mother, _____Father, _____Husband, _____Children,

_____Employer, _____Peers (over-all)

(2) Did your mother ever work outside the home?

(3) Would you say that your mother was very active, somewhat active, or not at all active in community affairs?

(4) For each kind of activity I mention, could you tell me if this person (the most significant other) was encouraging, neutral, or discouraging?

_____work-paid employment; _____politics-government

Correlations between items were run to determine whether they are closely related. The average correlation between all items was .20. The highest correlation, .74, was between encouragement of mother and that of father. The correlation between encouragement of husband and that of the children was .57. On the basis of social learning theory, it was assumed that the role model presented by the mother and the encouragement received from others had an additive effect. It appeared reasonable to assume that the role model effects should be given a weight equal to the effects of encouragement by others. There was a possible range of scores from 0 to 10. For purposes of analysis, the mean score of the sample was computed. Women who scored at the sample mean or above were categorized as having received a housewife-plus socialization while those below the mean were categorized as having received a housewife socialization.

Self reports on the level of happiness of the women and importance of the role of the housewife are utilized in this paper. Such reports have face validity, directness, and ease of use. Some caution in relation to the data used in this paper should be noted regarding the level of comparability of data between the active women and the neighbors since the active women were interviewed personally while the neighbors were interviewed by phone. However, identically worded questions were used in all instances where comparable data are reported.

Happiness levels of the women were measured by their response to the following question taken from the 1965 N.O.R.C. study: "Then all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" (Bradburn, 1965)

Importance of the role of the housewife was measured by the women's response to the question, "How important is the role of the housewife in your life? Would you say that it is very important, somewhat important, or not important?"

Results. - Hypothesis 1: It was predicted that women who were socialized into the housewife-plus role would be happier if they were employed outside the home and active than those who were not employed. Of the housewife-plus socialized women who were performing in maximally consonant roles, 77 percent said they were very happy as compared with 70 percent of those who were in dissonant roles. The trend is in the predicted direction but not impressive in size. It thus offers limited support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2: In the second hypothesis, it was predicted that women socialized primarily into the housewife role would be happier if they were not employed outside the home or otherwise active than those who were employed or otherwise active. As shown in Table 1, 59 percent of the housewife oriented and neither employed nor active stated they were very happy. This compares with 50 percent of the housewife oriented women who were employed and active. Again the trend is in the predicted direction and offers some support for the hypothesis.

Table 31

PERCENT OF WOMEN "VERY HAPPY" IN RELATION TO SOCIALIZATION AND ACTUAL BEHAVIOR

Behavior	Socialization: Housewife Oriented	Socialization: Housewife-plus Oriented
Employed Active Women	50 (22)	77 (22)
Not Employed Active Women	60 (5)	55 (11)
Employed Neighbors	30 (10)	64 (33)
Not Employed Neighbors	59 (27)	70 (20)

A check on the happiness variable was made. Data were analyzed in the same manner on the responses to the following question: "Think of how your life is going now. Do you want to continue in much the same way as it is going now; do you wish you could change some part of it; or do you wish you could change many parts of it?" Trends similar to but substantially stronger than the happiness level trends appeared. As shown in Table 2, 82 percent of the housewife-plus oriented employed active women wished to continue their life in much the same manner, but only 50 percent of the housewife-plus oriented who were neither employed nor active in the community wished to continue in the same manner. Similarly, 78 percent of the women who were socialized to be housewives only and who actually found themselves in such a role wished to continue. Only 59 percent of the housewife oriented who were active and employed wished to continue in the same manner.

Table 32

PERCENT OF WOMEN WHO DESIRE TO CONTINUE SAME LIFE
IN RELATION TO SOCIALIZATION AND ACTUAL BEHAVIOR

Behavior	Socialization: Housewife Oriented	Socialization: Housewife-plus Oriented
Employed Active Women	59 (22)	82 (22)
Not Employed Active Women	60 (5)	55 (11)
Employed Neighbors	50 (10)	48 (33)
Not Employed Neighbors	78 (27)	50 (20)

Hypothesis 3: The prediction was made that within a sample of women, those socialized into a housewife-plus role and neither employed outside the home nor active in the community would be more supportive of the role of housewife than those similarly socialized but employed and active. Percentages of the women rating the role of housewife "very important" are shown in Table 3.

Table 33

PERCENT OF WOMEN RATING HOUSEWIFE ROLE VERY IMPORTANT
IN RELATION TO SOCIALIZATION AND ACTUAL BEHAVIOR

Behavior	Socialization: Housewife Oriented	Socialization: Housewife-plus Oriented
Employed Active Women	70 (20)	68 (22)
Not Employed Active Women	80 (5)	73 (11)
Employed Neighbors	40 (10)	88 (33)
Not Employed Neighbors	88 (26)	85 (20)

Eighty-five percent of the neither employed nor active housewife-plus oriented women stated that the role of housewife was very important. Of the housewife-plus oriented, active, and employed group, 68 percent stated the role was very important. The hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 4: In the fourth hypothesis it was predicted that within a sample of women, those socialized primarily into the housewife role and employed and active will be less supportive of the role of the housewife than others similarly socialized but neither employed nor active. Results are shown in Table 3. Eighty-eight percent of the most consonant group, the not employed, housewife oriented neighbors, gave a very important rating to the role. In comparisor, 70 percent of the housewife oriented employed active women gave the role the same rating. The hypothesis was supported.

Discussion and Summary. - The idea that women will experience ongoing role conflict and therefore be less happy if they accept paid employment or become active outside the home is generally assumed to be true. The results do not support this. Predictions were made within a dissonance theory framework on the happiness levels of women. Hypotheses one and two which dealt with predicted happiness in relation to socialization and behavior patterns were not strongly supported. The trends were, however, in the direction of the predictions made. Women who were in consonant roles in relation to their socialization patterns and actual behavior were, in general, slightly happier than those in dissonant roles. When the women were asked whether they would like to continue their lives in the same manner, the trends became substantially stronger. More women whose behavior

and socialization were consonant wished to continue than did those in dissonant positions.

The active employed women who were housewife-plus oriented were somewhat happier and more desirous of continuing their life in the same manner than any other group. These women possibly were obtaining more satisfaction from their work and activities than the equally consonant not employed housewife oriented neighbors. An interesting picture arises relevant to the happiness levels of American women. Women who are socialized to have activities outside the home are apparently somewhat happier than those focused on the home. This happiness may simply be dependent upon a wider range of experiences presented to these women.

Unfortunately, our data can not capture the process of dissonance reduction nor do we have measurements at two or more points in time. We can conjecture that the dissonance in relation to the role conflicts and socialization patterns was originally high. Nevertheless, it would appear that women in dissonant positions in relation to socialization vis-a-vis actual behavior were able to achieve approximately the same levels of happiness as those in consonant situations over a period of time. Dissonance theory would predict this ultimate result.

It is known that happiness is multi-dimensional. Therefore it is possible that those in the most theoretically consonant positions in respect to the variables investigated, may suffer dissonance from other sources. The dissonance from various sets of behaviors and attitudes may tend to balance the happiness levels across a sample of women. One can not therefore attribute the happiness levels solely to possible consonance or dissonance related to the role of the housewife.

Hypotheses three and four were supported. Women who were socialized into the housewife-plus orientation and neither employed nor active were more supportive of the role of the housewife than others similarly socialized but employed and active. Likewise, women socialized into the housewife role only were less supportive of the role when employed and active than similarly socialized women who were neither employed nor active. In general those who are performing in the role of full-time housewife are more supportive of the role than those performing in housewife-plus roles. As cognitive dissonance theory would predict, the attitudes and behaviors are in accordance with each other regardless of the attitudes one might anticipate from differences in socialization patterns.

The reader will have noticed that the tables included the data on two intermediate groups in relation to the socialization and behavioral dimensions. Although these groups were not included in the hypotheses, it is desirable to call attention to some of the patterns exhibited. The employed housewife oriented neighbors were the least happy of any of the groups. One might conjecture that they may have been unhappy because of the types of jobs in which they were employed. Or perhaps they were unwilling to invest enough effort in their jobs to achieve satisfaction from their work. At the same time they were the least supportive of the role of housewife. It would appear that they were not obtaining satisfaction from either the housewife role or employment outside the home.

Additional research is needed. However, these data suggest that women who are in dissonant positions in relation to their home and community make adjustments to attain approximately the same levels of

happiness as those in consonant positions. If the employed active women have a higher level of anxiety than women who remain in the home, it is not apparent in their happiness levels. The above would imply that women may have less trouble adjusting to roles and achievement outside the home than is commonly accepted.

In sum, the data indicated that women were slightly happier if they were in consonant positions in relation to their socialization and their behavior. They also rated the role of the housewife in accordance with whether they were devoting full-time to this role. Those devoting full-time to the role were more supportive than those performing in housewife-plus roles.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Philip Goldberg, "Are Women Prejudiced Against Women?" Transaction, April, 1968, pp. 28-30.

[2]David L. Featherman and Robert M. Hauser, "Sexual Inequalities and Socioeconomic Achievement in the U.S., 1962-1973," Working Paper #75-10, Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975, p. 20.

[3]See dimensions of activity listed on page 21.

[4]Governor Warren Knowles, Department of Transportation Study, January, 1972.

[5]Michael Aiken and Paul E. Mott (Eds.) The Structure of Community Power, New York: Random House, 1970, pp. 193-202.

[6]For Discussion see: Charles M. Bonjean and David M. Olson, "Community Leadership Directions of Research." In Michael Aiken and Paul Mott (Eds.) The Structure of Community Power, New York: Random House, 1970, pp. 203-215.

[7]James Arnold Anderson, "Locating Leaders in Multi-County Areas." Unpublished dissertation in Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1971, p. 43.

[8]Bonjean and Olson, op. cit., p. 207.

[9]Growth Centers Project, Unpublished study by Donald Johnson and Palmer McCoy, Title I Higher Education Act of 1967 and Title V Rural Development Act of 1972.

[10]These positions were also taken from the Growth Centers Project.

[11]Earl Babbie, Survey Research Methods, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1973, p. 165.

[12]U.S. Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1970, Table 57, Vol. 1, Characteristics of Population, Part 51, Wisconsin, p. 231.

FOOTNOTES (Cont'd.)

[13]Albert Bandura, Social Learning Theory, General Learning Press, Morristown, N.J., 1971.

[14]Walter Mischel, "Toward A Cognitive Social Learning Reconceptualization of Personality," Psychological Review, Vol. 80, No. 4, 1973, pp. 252-283.

[15]Bandura, op. cit. p. 9.

[16]Ibid., p. 18.

[17]Aiken and Mott, op. cit., pp. 203-215.

[18]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1953.

[19]Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Yale University Press, New Haven, 1961.

[20]Talcott Parsons and R. F. Bales, Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1953.

[21]The Capital Times, Madison, Wisconsin, April 1, 1976.

[22]The Capital Times, Madison, Wisconsin, March 5, 1976.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Frederick Buttel, "The Relationships between Stratification Indicators and Preservation of Natural Habitats: A Cross-National Analysis," Seminar paper, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1973, pp. 2-3.

[25]William Murdock, "Environment and the Equilibrium Population," in Environment, Resources, Pollution and Society, Wm. Murdock, ed., Sinauer Assoc., Inc., Stamford, Conn., 1971, p. 431.

[26]Virginia Lambert, "Community Problems in Eight Northwestern Counties," Report No. 1 of a Series on Quality of Life and Development in Northwestern Wisconsin, research conducted under supervision of Eugene Wilkening, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, January, 1976, pp. 3-7.

[27]David A. McGranahan, "Attitudes about Environment, Industry and Tourism in Eight Northwestern Wisconsin Counties," Report No. 3 of a Series on Quality of Life and Development in Northwestern Wisconsin, research conducted under supervision of Eugene Wilkening, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, January, 1976, p. 2.

[28]Johnson and McCoy, op. cit.

[29]Harriett Moyer, A Study of Women Influentials, Department of Continuing and Vocational Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975-76, data previously unpublished.

[30]Jean J. Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, N.Y., Basic Books, Inc., 1974.

[31]Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[32]Ibid., pp. 165-166.

[33]Anna B. Brown, "Women Influentials," Journal of Cooperative Extension, 2 (2), Summer, 1964, pp. 97-109.

[34]Carole E. Wolff, "The Role of Women in the Structure of 'Society' in a Midwestern Industrial Community," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1961.

[35]Catherine Arnott, "Feminists and Anti-Feminists as 'True Believers,'" Sociology and Social Research, 57 (3), April, 1973, pp. 300-306.

[36]Joan Joesting, "Comparison of Women's Liberation Members with their Nonmember Peers," Psychological Reports, 29, 1971, pp. 1291-1294.

[37]Carol Tavris, "Who Likes Women's Liberation--And Why: The Case of the Unliberated Liberals," Journal of Social Issues, 29 (4), 1973, pp. 175-198.

[38]Carol Tavris, "The Unliberated Liberals" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1971), pp. 1-296.

[39]Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., 1972.

FOOTNOTES (Cont'd.)

[40] Ibid., p. 3.

[41] Ibid., p. 4.

[42] U.S. Census breakdowns for occupation.

[43] Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 42.

[44] Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, op. cit., p. 2.

[45] It is interesting to note that 73 percent of the active women identified in the study were working women.

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